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Progress is the law of life;
Man is not man as yet.

—BROWNING

Laboring man and laboring woman
Have one glory and one shame,
Everything that's done inhuman
Injures both of them the same.

—LOWELL

Adapted from "Biglow Papers"

A daughter of the gods, divinely tall,
And most divinely fair.

—TENNYSON

There, healthy as a shepherd-boy,
And treading among flowers of joy
Which at no season fade,
Thou, while thy babes around thee cling,
Shalt show us how divine a thing
A woman may be made.

—WORDSWORTH

In the administration of the State, neither a man as a man, nor a woman as a woman, has any especial function, but the gifts of nature are equally diffused in both sexes; all the pursuits of man are the pursuits of women also.

—PLATO

From "The Republic," Par. 455

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P R E F A C E

WHILE it has been in the plan of this book to ground its underlying principles on strictly scientific premises, it has also been the aim to give it a popular form in the hope of reaching a wider audience. The critic, as he proceeds, is likely to object that sentiment has no place in a treatise aiming to be scientific. This may or may not be true. It all depends upon the nature of the science. In logic or mathematics sentiment surely has no place. In society it is, however, an important if not a chief factor, and a resort to it may help the reader to a better understanding of all that constitutes sociologic science.

The author desires to acknowledge his obligations to those writers from whose works he has made quotations in the preparation of this volume.

PREFACE

degradation. It is a tenet of Mohammedanism that she has no soul and is dependent for immortality upon association with man. The majesty of numbers has force; and the fact that millions in Eastern countries have become habituated to a low conception of woman has a profound sociologic interest.

In modern times we see a similar doctrine grafted on the movement commonly known as the Mormon Church, founded by Joseph Smith. It is a repellent anachronism. In the same class is to be placed the contention of some modern-day philosophers that man constitutes the race, woman being merely the medium by which it is propagated.

It is of the essence of democracy that invidious class distinctions are indefensible; that one human being is potentially the equal of any other, irrespective of race, sex, color, or previous condition. In

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a profound sense, no one is either higher or lower than another because of sex, race, position, association, or heredity, except as these factors advance or retard development; the relative moral and intellectual status of the individual is the essential.

Christianity is primarily democratic. St. Paul says: "For by one spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free" (I Cor. xii. 13). It must be assumed that the Apostle meant by "all" both men and women. Christianity and democracy explain and confirm each other. The paramount thought is that the individual—and his or her culture and development—is all that is of moment. Birth, social position, wealth, poverty and like conditions are accidental, incidental and hence non-essential. It is a corollary of Christianity and democracy alike that the

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individual—whether we mean the ego, soul, or whatever—is the all in all; that sex, place, condition, and material circumstance are in no sense vital. If by nature woman is debarred from the highest possible human development, a great injustice is manifest. If, on the other hand, woman is to develop the same powers and privileges that man has and will have, then the two sexes must be fundamentally and potentially equal.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

ONLY a half-century ago it was a matter of course that the domain of woman was circumscribed by her home and domestic duties—ministering to the household of her parents or that of her husband and children. To-day it is entirely proper for her to engage in any legitimate gainful pursuit. If she desires to become a physician, lawyer, editor, lecturer, merchant or manufacturer, she has only to possess and use the same powers that enable men to succeed in these pursuits. In the meantime she has overcome many of the arbitrary disabilities under which she was suffering and held back. Many disabilities, however, remain; and these are somewhat as effective in retarding her progress as the prejudices of a century ago whereby

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she was prevented from pursuing any remunerative vocation outside of teaching, sewing and domestic service.

If a woman feels drawn to the profession of music, for example, and aspires to become a Paderewski at the piano she finds that, as a rule, her hands are neither large enough nor strong enough properly to manipulate the keys, and that she has not the requisite physical strength and stamina to practise for years the necessary four to eight hours a day. A relatively similar disability follows woman into most of the professions. Genius is said to be an infinite capacity for taking pains. If a woman aims to excel as a painter, sculptor or architect, minister or lawyer, the same handicap is in force. Usually, all are at their best in youth, so far as health and strength are concerned; and young women in school or college are able successfully to compete in their studies with

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young men. Again, the field of fiction does not exact the research and special knowledge demanded by some other branches of literature, and accordingly the woman novelist fairly holds her own against her male competitors. But success in the larger spheres of the world's activities calls for both a physical and mental power beyond her present development; and because of lack in these essentials woman at present is seriously handicapped in her competition with man.

So general is woman's present inferiority to man in stature, strength and robustness that it is commonly taken for granted this was always so, and that weakness and frailty are inherent in the nature of her sex. Scientific investigation, however, shows the fallacy of this nearly universal assumption: "Among the most primitive peoples the forms of men and women are often strikingly similar. The women are

SEX EQUALITY

masculine and generally muscular in appearance, and the faces of both sexes are often, except for the distribution of hair, extremely alike.”¹ Darwin says, in his *Origin of Species*, page 110, Murray’s Edition:

“Thus it is, as I believe, that when the males and females of any animal have the same general habits of life, but differ in structure, color or ornament, such differences have been mainly caused by sexual selection; that is, by individual males having had, in successive generations, some slight advantage over other males, in their weapons, means of defense or charms, which they have transmitted to their male offspring alone.” Also, in the *Descent of Man*, page 224: “With most animals the greater size of the adult male than of the female is due to the stronger males having conquered the weaker in their struggles for the possession of the females, and no doubt it is owing to this fact that the two

¹ From *Aspects of Social Evolution*, by J. Lionel Taylor, M.R.C.S., London, 1904.

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sexes of at least some animals differ in size at birth." In the same book, page 268: "With most animals when the male is larger than the female, he seems to owe his greater size to his ancestors having fought with other males during many generations." Also at page 563: "There can be little doubt that the greater size and strength of man, in comparison with woman, together with his broader shoulders, more developed muscles, rugged outline of body, his greater courage and pugnacity, are all due in chief part to inheritance from his half-human male ancestors. These characters would, however, have been preserved or even augmented during the long ages of man's savagery by the success of the strongest and boldest men, both in the general struggle for life and in their contests for wives; a success which would have ensured their leaving a more numerous progeny than their less favored brethren. It is not probable that the greater strength of man was primarily acquired thru the inherited effects of his having

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worked harder than woman for his own subsistence and that of his family; for the women in all barbarous nations are compelled to work at least as hard as the men. With civilized people the arbitrament of battle for the possession of the women has long ceased; on the other hand, the men, as a general rule, have to work harder than the women for their joint subsistence, and thus their greater strength will have been kept up." Also on page 605: "We may calculate that the greater size, strength, courage, pugnacity and energy of man, in comparison with woman, were acquired during primeval times, and have subsequently been augmented, chiefly thru the contests of rival males for the possession of the females. The greater intellectual vigor and power of invention in man is probably due to natural selection, combined with the inherited effects of habit; for the most able men will have succeeded best in defending and providing for themselves and for their wives and offspring."

INTRODUCTORY

The conditions, habits and customs that obtain in both savagery and civilization respectively tend to continue the inequalities between men and women. In primitive times the women did much the greater share of necessary work. The men killed the game; the women skinned the animals, tanned the hides, cooked and prepared the food. The men took the titbits and most nutritious portions, leaving to the women the less desirable and nutritious. The women underwent the confinement of child-bearing, the care of the children and the work of the shelter. They were underfed and overworked. The men when not at war had a relatively easy time. They hunted the woods for game, the rivers for fish and often met for recreation. These differing conditions between the sexes were well calculated to maintain the physical development and mental vigor of the men as well as the relative weakness of the women.

SEX EQUALITY

A further proof that the superior size and strength of the male has been caused by the survival of the fittest in the combats for the possession of the females is found in the fact that no such differences occur among monogamic species where such struggles do not occur. The common wild pigeon is an illustration. These birds mate in pairs and for life—a true monogamic marriage; there is no struggle between males for the possession of the females, and consequently no greater physical development in the males; and in a flock of thousands of these birds, the males and females are indistinguishable by their outward appearance.

In striking contrast to this illustration of monogamous life are the habits and peculiarities of elephants. Darwin quotes Doctor Campbell, who states that it is “rare to find more than one male with a whole herd of elephants, the larger males

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expelling or killing the smaller or weaker ones. The male differs from the female in his immense tusks, greater size, strength and endurance; so great is the difference in these respects that the males when caught are valued at one-fifth more than the females." The male seal affords an equally strong contrast with the group of females with which each male herds.

In the same connection Darwin states that among those animals that are not polygamous, the sexes rarely differ, and if at all but very slightly. Thruout his entire book, the *Descent of Man*, Darwin plainly teaches that when the sexes differ the difference is caused by their respective habits and by the law which I have termed sexual heredity—by which males have a preponderating tendency to inherit from the father and females from the mother.

It is an important factor in the Darwinian system that those varieties and charac-

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teristics which appear in the infancy of animals or of man are inherited by both sexes alike, whereas there is a tendency for those traits which appear near maturity or after to be inherited by the male offspring if these traits first appeared in the father, and in the female offspring if these traits first appeared in the mother. Moreover, such characteristics appear in the offspring at about the same age at which they first appeared in the parent.

In savage and barbaric life, the same conditions which distinguish animal life serve to develop the stature, strength and special characteristics of men and account for the lack of similar characteristics in women. What about mental traits? We have seen that characteristics developed in individuals of one sex are usually inherited by that sex alone. Males fighting with and struggling against each other have a tendency to develop their size,

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strength and vigor, just as a "blacksmith's muscle" is developed by exercise. If it be accepted as proved that man's manifest physical superiority over woman to-day is the result of inheritance from forebears who had developed their frames and muscles by severe and continuous struggles, it is reasonable to conclude that woman's present mental disability arises from unfavorable inheritance. While women were confined to their habitations, their children and their drudgery, the men had leisure and opportunity to invent tools and implements for hunting and for war; also to contrive boats and to tame animals for use in transportation. The navigation of boats necessitated a study—and eventually a knowledge—of winds, weather, tides and waves. Observation of the heavens inevitably followed, and eventually from these pursuits and from the differentiations which ensued there developed

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a knowledge of mechanics, physics, and the rudiments of mathematics and astronomy. Logic and philosophy are further developments along this line. All this came naturally to men as an inevitable division of labor, while the women, hampered by confinement and drudgery and suffering from overstrain and inadequate food, had no such opportunities; and their daughters, by the laws of environment and heredity, are therefore necessarily inferior to men, as a rule, in invention, mechanics, mathematics and logic.

On the other hand, it is seen that the environment of woman in savage and barbaric times was well calculated to develop those characteristics which are recognized as preëminently feminine. Denied those conditions which tend to develop powers of observation and reasoning, women were thrown back on their intuitions, and to-day it is universally admitted that women

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are far more intuitive than men. A man demands that any assertion shall be based on reason. His wife, who may be totally unable to give any reason for the faith that is in her, but who arrives at her conclusions by intuition, is quite as apt to be right, as proved by the outcome, as the man who prides himself upon his reasoning powers.

Women, confined to their homes by their children and their work, not only in savagery and barbarism but even at the present day, have lived a life favorable to the growth of patience and the ability to endure suffering; and it is indisputable that women are more patient, long-suffering and uncomplaining than men.

In all ages, women have had the care of infants, the aged and the helpless. In the very nature of things such employment tends to the development of tenderness, and tenderness is a distinctly feminine

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trait. As war and strife coarsen those who engage in them so do the qualities developed by suffering refine, and refinement is to-day a predominantly feminine characteristic.

During untold generations of subjection women have been obliged to compass their ends by more or less indirect means. While they have found it advisable to make a show of obedience before their husbands and masters, they have found ways to accomplish their ends by management and craft; and hence tact and finesse are preëminently feminine traits. We also see that thru this method of attaining her desires woman has developed her histrionic powers, so that, as actor, she is commonly admitted to be man's equal if not superior: witness Mrs. Siddons, Rachel, Bernhardt, Duse and others.

Again as mother, woman has thru all ages entertained her children with tales

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and stories, and this has doubtless been a considerable factor, thru inheritance, in endowing her with her present attainments as a writer of fiction; for in this realm woman is distinctly more on an equality with man than in any other, except the histrionic.

In the discussion of the relative powers of men and women, popular writers, and scientists as well, have brought forward the present relative conditions and characteristic differences of the two sexes as a basis from which to posit woman's inferiority to man and the impossibility of her becoming his equal. Let us imagine two boys who in infancy display approximately equal powers and possibilities. Let one be placed in a family of wealth and refinement, ensuring to him the best hygienic conditions, including pure air, exercise, recreation and nourishment. He is sent successively to the kindergarten,

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the preparatory school, the college and the university. He has the stimulus of cultured and enlightened companions and the advantages of travel and contact with the best minds. The second boy who, we must remember, is equally well born and potentially the equal of the other, is placed with a family in extreme poverty, surrounded by unhygienic conditions, is inadequately supplied with food, and at a tender age is sent, in place of school, to a factory to help in the support of the family. Early in life the second youth marries, and is ever after chained to a life of penury and struggle. Anyone acquainted with the circumstances of the two lives—the fact that the one fortunately placed in due time rose to power and influence, and the other lived to the end in indigence and obscurity—would surely have small grounds for contending that the more fortunately placed boy had naturally or potentially any

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greater power than the other. The condition of woman as compared with that of man is really much worse than that of the poor boy surrounded by the worst conditions compared with the one fortunately placed. The two boys might easily have been potentially equal, whereas thru environment and heredity for unnumbered generations, it is now nearly impossible for a woman to start on an equality with man, and this will remain for many generations—until that time when by favoring conditions and environment woman has acquired a physique of such characteristics as will enable her to enter into competition free from the handicap of a diminutive body, weak muscles and frail health. The two boys with an equal inheritance and equal opportunities would have developed on lines of approximate equality. A female child destined to compete with a brother born of the same parents

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is, however, handicapped at the outset by having inherited thru her mother the above-named disabilities; and added to this, as time goes on and the competition continues, her brother has still further advantages in a larger outdoor life, greater freedom in dress and movement, and those hygienic conditions, exercises and pursuits which custom has decreed proper for boys and men, but improper or unsuitable for girls and women.



Ch. Darwin

CHAPTER II

SEX EVOLUTION AND SEXUAL CHARACTERS

THE underlying purpose and central thought of this book is the affirmation that it is the human ego which is all-important. Class distinctions are inimical to the progress of the race. We are learning more and more that it is from a strictly human standpoint that every question must be settled. The opening sentence of our Declaration of Independence has made us familiar with this thought. The assertion that all men are free and equal has been confusing to many, but when we come to understand the real meaning of this proclamation all becomes clear. It is that in the nature of things all men are entitled to freedom and a full opportunity for an unrestricted development of their powers. In the nature of things progress is grad-

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ual and slow, and it was not until our Civil War that we were in the moral position to maintain that all are equally entitled to those privileges without regard to "race, color or previous conditions of servitude."

It is true that the inequalities of human birth are almost infinite, but this is no discouragement to the philosopher. He sees that the poor and uneducated—those who are now obliged to perform an excessive amount of labor for which they receive an inadequate share of the fruits of labor—if surrounded by favoring conditions are destined by the laws of evolution to make continuous progress until there comes a day when every normal individual will be required to perform his just share of the world's work and receive his full share of the result of such labor. It need discourage no one, however much one's sympathies may become involved, to realize

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that so far we have only made a start on the road of progress, and that as yet men are born sadly unequal. It no longer occurs to any enlightened person to point to the present inequalities as proof that such was the intention in the original scheme of things, or that these inequalities are proof that they will always inhere. We are coming to see that for all of us it is a duty to do what we can to bring about those conditions that will soonest actualize that equality which is as yet only an ideal.

I wish also to urge that the inequalities from which women suffer constitute no argument in favor of the assumption that such inequalities are natural or inevitable. When the founders of this republic declared that all men are born free and equal they evidently made a mental reservation that such proclamation did not apply to the serving class or to slaves. As before remarked, it required a great war to ena-

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ble us to perceive that "all men" applies really to all, and is not modified by any considerations of "race, color or previous conditions of servitude." Likewise, I wish to urge that "men" in the sense in which it is used in our Declaration is strictly generic and means human, thus applying to men and women equally.

The following quotations show that foremost authorities in science confirm the view advanced above, or, at all events, the inevitable conclusion to be deduced from them is that sex is an incident and that there is no organic and fundamental difference between male and female:

"Males and females, whether they be more or less unlike, arise from the same germinal material. The germinal material itself is sexless; that is to say, there is not a male and a female germinal material. The phenomena of inheritance in the sexual generation of hybrids show this clearly. Characters appropriate both to

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males and females are transmitted either by eggs or by spermatozoa. In parthenogenetic animals both male and female individuals appear at definite times from eggs produced without sexual commerce. Whether the male or the female forms be produced depends not upon any difference in the germinal material but on the external influences, just as external influences determine whether the bud on a twig shall give rise to a vegetative or to a flowering shoot, to a thorn or to a stem. The influence of food, of temperature, or probably of other agencies, determine in which direction the germinal material shall grow.”¹

“Every organism, whether male or female, develops from a fertilized egg-cell, apart, of course, from the occurrence of sexual and parthenogenetic reproduction. This material which in one case develops into a male, in another into a female is, as far as our experience can go, always the same; and when the sex of the

¹ *Biological Problems of To-day*, by O. Hertwig. (Page 123.)

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organism is absolutely decided is a question to which no general answer can be given. . . . The factors which are influential in determining sex are numerous and come into play at different periods, so that it is quite possible for a germ-cell to have its future fate more than once changed. The constitution of the mother, the nutrition of the ova, the constitution of the father, the state of the male element when fertilization occurs, and even the larval environment in some cases,—these and yet other factors have all to be considered.”¹

“Both in animals and plants essentially the same substance is contained in the nucleus both of the sperm-cell and egg-cell—this is the *hereditary substance of the species*. There can be now no longer any doubt that the view which has been held for years by Strasburger and myself is a correct one, according to which the nuclei of the male and those of the fe-

¹ *The Evolution of Sex*, by Geddes and Thomson. (Chapter III, paragraph 1.)

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male germ-cells are essentially similar; that is, in any given species they contain the same specific hereditary substance.”¹

In his contention that structural variations due to changes in the habits of animals are transmitted by inheritance, Darwin holds that use invariably tends to strengthen and enlarge special organs and muscles exercised, while continued disuse of any developed parts invariably tends to diminish them; and such modifications appear to be inherited. He gives instances both in the cases of wild and domesticated animals. Among domestic animals he instances the farmyard duck as notably illustrating this view—its wing bones weighing less, its leg bones more than the same bones in the wild duck, which accords with its altered habits. Among wild animals he mentions the nearly wingless birds inhabiting oceanic

¹ *The Germ-plasm*, by A. Weismann. (Introduction, page 23.)

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islands where there are no beasts of prey; under these favorable conditions the habit of ground feeding has become established and the flying function has almost fallen into desuetude. In fine, altho the law of natural selection, or the survival of the fittest, operates largely in the development of species, it seems clear that habit, or use and disuse, plays a considerable part, thru heredity, in the modification of structure and constitution.

This doctrine, in so far as the influence of habit in the modification of species is concerned, has been contested by scientific contemporaries of Darwin, among whom August Weismann is perhaps the principal exponent. His ingenious, complicated and closely reasoned theories regarding heredity and the "continuity of the germ-plasm" are well worth attention. I shall merely advert to that aspect of Weismannism which seems partially in conflict

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with the Darwinian theories mentioned in the preceding paragraph, so that a completer view of the field of discussion may be brought before the reader. Weismann's basic doctrine is that the phenomena of heredity among the highest organisms are connected with a definite substance to which he gives the name of germ-plasm. This he localizes in the nuclear substance of the germ-cell which, by means of nuclear and cell division, is transmitted from generation to generation.

The details of the process are too technical to be fully described here; it will suffice to indicate the central idea of his contention, which is that individual traits and characters are transmitted from one generation to another by the agency of "ancestral germ-plasms" (also termed "ids" by Weismann) which are not and can not be ordinarily influenced by the

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life conditions of the individual. These "ids," altho beyond the power of the microscope to verify, are each assumed to contain all of the primary constituents necessary to the formation of an organism. They are not identical with the "physiological units" postulated by Herbert Spencer, which are assumed to be ultimate particles composing the whole body, whereas the ancestral germ-plasm is comprized in the nuclear matter only and serves exclusively the mechanical purpose of heredity. This theory has a certain resemblance to the now obsolete "preformation" concept of the old biologists, which Weismann himself had vigorously opposed.

Notwithstanding Weismann's hypothesis emphasizes the value and importance of the ancestral germ-plasm in carrying on from sire to son and from mother to daughter distinctive variations in their

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kind, he admits that the primary cause of such variations is always the result of external influences, but when these changes of condition only affect the body in general their effects are limited to the life of the individual and are not transmitted by heredity; whereas when they occur in the germ-plasm they are transmitted to the next generation and cause corresponding hereditary variations. In the author's own words:

“It is self-evident from the theory of heredity here propounded that only those characters are transmissible which have been controlled—that is, produced—by determinants of the germ; and that consequently only those variations are hereditary which result from the modification of several or more determinants in the germ-plasm, and not those which have arisen subsequently in consequence of some influence exerted upon the cells of the body. In other words, it would follow from this

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theory that somatogenic or acquired characters can not be transmitted. This, however, does not imply that external influences are incapable of producing hereditary variations; on the contrary, they always give rise to such variations when they are capable of modifying the determinants of the germ-plasm. Climatic influences, for example, may very well produce permanent variations by slowly causing increasing alterations to occur in certain of such determinants in the course of generations. An apparent transmission of somatogenic modifications may even take place under certain circumstances by the climatic influence affecting certain determinants of the germ-plasm at the same time, and when they are about to pass to that part of the body which they have to control."

And again: "The primary cause of *variation* is always the effect of external influences. Were it possible for growth to take place under absolutely constant external conditions, variation would not oc-

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cur; but as this is impossible, all growth is connected with smaller or greater deviations from the inherited developmental tendency. While these deviations only affect the soma, they give rise to temporary non-hereditary variations; but when they occur in the germ-plasm, they are transmitted to the next generation and cause corresponding hereditary variations in the body.”

From the above exposition of Darwinism and Weismannism respectively it will be seen that their differences of mode affect my contentions but slightly; and if subsequent investigation should place one or the other of these positions on irrefutable ground, it will still in no way invalidate this important link in the argument. We are not concerned so much with the method by which change in habits of life and the use or disuse of functions results in the modification of structure and the acquisition of new characters in the off-

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spring, as we are in the establishment of the contention that conditions and environment cause and control variations and development. Nor is it of moment whether the transmission of any particular modification occupies many or few generations so long as the fact itself is confirmed. From Darwin we have the proposition in plain and definite terms, as already seen, and from Weismann the admission is quite as clear that "the primary cause of variation is always the effect of external influences."

In the work entitled the *Evolution of Sex*, quoted from above, Prof. Patrick Geddes and J. Arthur Thomson take the position that in all the higher classes of animals there exists a fundamental maleness and a fundamental femaleness; and they place great stress on the contention that secondary sexual characteristics are the result, not of environment and of

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natural selection and sexual selection, but at the last resort are distinctly a product of an essential maleness and femaleness respectively. This distinction is based on the differing and complementary characters which are exhibited even by the primordial germ-cells in both animal and vegetable life. In fact, the beginnings of sex-differentiation are stated to be observable in the motion and activity with which some of the earliest forms of life cells are endowed as contrasted with the listless and passive conduct of other cells with which they unite.

The authors cited above have bestowed upon these varying tendencies the terms katabolism and anabolism, respectively, the former indicating the restless seeking force represented by the male, the latter a comparatively inert, self-centered immobile entity, complementary to the other and represented by the female. The latter

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is also usually the larger and better nourished being. In so low a form of life as the protozoa an observer quoted by Geddes and Thomson states that the two individual cells are quite unlike each other both in form and history; the process is essentially a sexual one; and according to this observer there seems no reason why the terms male and female should not be applied to them—it being found in some of these cases that a small active katabolic unit combines with a larger, more passive and anabolic individual. Still other scientific testimony is forthcoming in support of this primitive sex-differentiation, Englemann demonstrating it in the Bell-animalculæ family, and Schlumberger, Harpe and Brady in the *Foraminifera*.

Notwithstanding the instances and authorities cited in support of Geddes and Thomson's theory of fundamental sex-distinction, two definite facts stand forth

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distinctly which, altho they may not detract from the logical deductions on which their proposition is based, yet should suggest caution in accepting and applying the theory as a final and practical solution of the sex problem. One of the facts—fully conceded by Geddes and Thomson, as well as by O. Hertwig, a notable naturalist—is the absolute identity of the material, as far as can be ascertained, that composes the cells from which males and females respectively are produced, even in the higher species. The quotations referred to are given on a preceding page.

The second pregnant fact, equally well proved and admitted, is the practicability of restricting or increasing the proportion of male and female offspring by artificial regulation of the conditions and environment of the egg, and in some cases even of the embryo,—especially thru nutrition, temperature, light and humidity. An

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experiment with tadpoles made by Yung, which is quoted by Professor Geddes, luminously illustrates this point. Three broods of tadpoles were taken in which the proportions of females to males were as follows: 54 to 46, 61 to 39 and 56 to 44, the average of female preponderance being about 57 per cent. One of these broods was fed with beef, which raised the percentage from 54 to 78; the second was fed with fish with a resulting increase in the female percentage from 61 to 81; in the third set, the specially nutritious flesh of frogs was given under which high diet the percentage rose from 56 to 92.

At a meeting of the Academy of Sciences in Paris, M. Bouquet de la Grye described the result of certain observations made by Camille Flammarion, the celebrated astronomer. Experiments made on a great number of silkworms showed that those bred under natural light pro-

duced an equal number of male and female worms, but when placed under glass of a violet color the worms produced 77 per cent. of males.

Another decisive experiment on the influence of nutrition upon sex was made by Girou on sheep, an account of which is also found in Geddes and Thomson's *Evolution of Sex*, page 47:

“A flock of three hundred ewes was divided into equal parts of which one-half were extremely well fed and served by two young rams, while the others were served by mature ones and kept poorly fed. The proportions of ewe lambs in the two cases were respectively 60 and 40 per cent. In spite of the combination of two factors the experiment is certainly a cogent one. Düsing brings forward further evidence in favor of the same conclusion noting, for instance, that it is usually the heavier ewes which bring forth ewe lambs.”

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In Darwin's works will be found many examples of so-called sex characteristics exchanging places, so to speak, or inherited by both sexes alike, the full significance of which does not appear to have occurred to the great naturalist. Doubtless the fact that they are gleaned in widely differing species, both in plants and animals, and are comparatively uncommon, may have caused him to regard them as abnormalities not as yet capable of interpretation. In his *Descent of Man*, however, Darwin notes the following fact: "The equal transmission of characters to both sexes is the commonest form of inheritance," altho he did not indicate its bearing other than on the subject of heredity. Following are a few of the illustrations above mentioned taken from the same work, page 225:

"A few exceptional cases occur in various classes of animals, in which the fe-

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males instead of the males have acquired well pronounced secondary sexual characters, such as brighter colors, greater size, strength or pugnacity. With birds there has sometimes been a complete transposition of the ordinary characters proper to each sex; the females having become the more eager in courtship, the males remaining comparatively passive, but apparently selecting the more attractive females, as we may infer from the results. Certain hen birds have thus been rendered more highly colored or otherwise ornamented as well as more powerful and pugnacious than the cocks; these characters being transmitted to the female offspring alone . . . There are many animals in which the sexes resemble each other, both being furnished with the same ornaments, which analogy would lead us to attribute to the agency of sexual selection."

Page 231: "With animals under domestication, but whether in nature I will not venture to say, one sex may lose char-

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acters proper to it and may thus come somewhat to resemble the opposite sex; for instance, the males of some breeds of the fowl have lost their masculine tail-plumes and hackles. On the other hand, the differences between the sexes may be increased under domestication, as with merino sheep in which the ewes have lost their horns. Again, characters proper to one sex may suddenly appear in the other sex; as in those sub-breeds of the fowl in which the hens acquire spurs while young; or, as in certain Polish sub-breeds, in which the females, as there is reason to believe, originally acquired a crest, and subsequently transferred it to the males."

Page 227: "That secondary sexual characters are present in both sexes is manifest when two species having strongly marked sexual characters are crossed, for each transmits the characters proper to its own male and female sex to the hybrid offspring of either sex. The same fact is likewise manifest, when characters proper to the male are occasionally developed in

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the female when she grows old or becomes diseased; as for instance when the common hen assumes the flowing tail-feathers, hackles, comb, spurs, voice and even pugnacity of the cock. . . . Again, independently of old age or disease, characters are occasionally transferred from the male to the females; as when, in certain breeds of the fowl, spurs regularly appear in the young and healthy females."

Referring to the usual absence of the stridulating apparatus in the females of the *Orthoptera* (cricket) family, Darwin again notes the "exceptions" that so persistently occur thruout the whole animal realm. The following is from page 228:

"In the three foregoing families (of the *Orthoptera* tribe) the females are almost always destitute of an efficient musical apparatus. But there are a few exceptions to this rule, for Doctor Gruber has shown that both sexes of *Ephippiger vitium* are thus provided, tho the organs

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differ in the male and female to a certain extent. Hence we can not suppose that they have been transferred from the male to the female as appears to have been the case with the secondary sexual characters of many other animals. They must have been independently developed in the two sexes which no doubt mutually call to each other during the passion of love." Among the *Coleoptera* (beetles) Darwin remarks (page 294) that "the colors of the two sexes are generally alike," and further on: "On the whole, as far as I could judge, the females of those *Prionidæ*, in which the sexes differ, are colored more richly than the males, which does not accord with the common rule in regard to color when acquired thru sexual selection." On pages 304, 305, regarding the stridulating organs of the *Coleoptera*, Darwin has the following to say: "In order to discover whether the sexes differed in their power of stridulating, my son, F. Darwin, collected fifty-seven living specimens, which he separated into two lots according

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as they made a lesser or greater noise, when held in the same manner. He then examined all these specimens, and found that the males were nearly in the same proportion to the females in both the lots. Mr. F. Smith has kept alive numerous specimens of *Mononychus pseudacori* and is convinced that both sexes stridulate and apparently in an equal degree."

Coming now to the butterfly kingdom, we have the following very interesting observations from Darwin (pages 318, 319) which clearly confirm my contention that secondary sexual characters are not the outcome of fundamental attributes but result from conditions, variations and transmission:

"I have as yet only referred to the species in which the males are brighter colored than the females, and I have attributed their beauty to the females for many generations, having chosen and paired with the more attractive males. But con-

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verse cases occur, tho rarely, in which the females are more brilliant than the males; and here, as I believe, the males have selected the more beautiful females and have thus slowly added to their beauty. We do not know why in various classes of animals the males of some few species have selected the more beautiful females instead of having gladly accepted any female, as seems to be the general rule in the animal kingdom; but, if contrary to what generally occurs with the *Lepidoptera*, the females were much more numerous than the males, the latter would be likely to pick out the more beautiful females. Mr. Butler showed me several species of *Callidryas* in the British Museum in some of which the females equaled and in others greatly surpassed the males in beauty; for the females alone have the borders of their wings suffused with crimson and orange and spotted with black. The plainer males of these species closely resemble each other, showing that here the females have been modified; whereas

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in those cases where the males are the most ornate it is these which have been modified, the females remaining closely alike. . . . Again, the females of *Colias edusa* and *Hyale* have orange or yellow spots on the black marginal border represented in the males only by thin streaks; and in *Pieris* it is the females which are ornamented with black spots on the forewings, and these are only partially present in the males. Now the males of many butterflies are known to support the females during the marriage flight, but in the species just named it is the females which support the males; so that the part which the two sexes play is reversed, as is their relative beauty. Thruout the animal kingdom the males commonly take the more active share in wooing, and their beauty seems to have increased by the females having accepted the more attractive individuals; but with these butterflies, the females take the more active part in the final marriage ceremony, so that we may suppose they likewise do so in the

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wooing; and in this case, we can understand how it is that they have been rendered the more beautiful." On page 320, speaking of the variations in the species of the *Aeneas* group of butterflies, we find the following: "The variability is here almost confined to the male sex; but Mr. Wallace and Mr. Dates have shown that the females of some species are extremely variable, the males being nearly constant."

The foregoing citations seemingly form an irrefutable demonstration of the correctness of the hypothesis that sex is an incident, dependent upon the environment for its evolution; and that sexual characters are the result, not of inherent and fundamental maleness and femaleness, but of environment, variation and heredity. If male characters were the result of fundamental maleness, it would not be possible for the parts which the two sexes usually play to be reversed; or for the

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females in such numerous instances to develop and exhibit the qualities and peculiarities usually exhibited by the male sex.

The student will find in Chapter XII of Part II of *The Descent of Man* similar examples among fishes; in fact, we have only touched on a mine of corroborative examples that abound in Darwin's works, where the interchange of features usually associated exclusively with one sex is recorded by him without any apparent attempt to assign an explanation that will apply with equal cogency to all the facts.

It is instructive to note that in the vegetable world analogous conditions are found. For example, Hertwig, in his *Biological Problems* (page 124), states that "melons and cucumbers which produce on the same stem both male and female flowers bear only male flowers in high temperatures; only female flowers when

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subjected to cold and damp." Also, Ascherson (quoted by Geddes in *Evolution of Sex*, page 49) has observed that the Water-soldier (*Stratoites aloides*) bears only female flowers north of latitude 52° and from 50° southward only male ones. Plainly the same environmental factor is operative in these cases as in the more highly organized kingdom.

The contention that secondary sexual characters are not the result of an essential maleness and femaleness respectively, but are the result of environment and heredity, is further strengthened by the following passages from Darwin's *Animals and Plants Under Domestication*, Volume II, Chapter XIII, pages 25, 26, 27:

"*Latent characters.* But I must explain what is meant by characters lying latent. The most obvious illustration is afforded by secondary sexual characters.

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In every female all the secondary male characters and in every male all the secondary female characters apparently exist in a latent state, ready to be evolved under certain conditions. It is well known that a large number of female birds, such as fowls, various pheasants, partridges, peahens, ducks, etc., when old or diseased, or when operated on, assume many or all of the secondary male characters of their species. In the case of the hen-pheasant this has been observed to occur far more frequently during certain years than during others. A duck, ten years old, has been known to assume both the perfect winter and summer plumage of the drake. Waterton gives the curious case of a hen which had ceased laying and had assumed the plumage, voice, spurs and warlike disposition of the cock; and when opposed to an enemy she would erect hackles and show fight. Thus every character, even to the instinct and manner of fighting, must have lain dormant in this hen as long as her ovaria continued to act.

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The females of two kinds of deer, when old, have been known to acquire horns; and, as Hunter has remarked, we see something of an analogous nature in the human species. On the other hand, with male animals, it is notorious that the secondary sexual characters are more or less completely lost when they are subjected to an operation. Thus, if the operation be performed on a young cock, he never, as Yarrall states, crows again; the comb, wattles and spurs do not grow to their full size, and the hackles assume an intermediate appearance between true hackles and the feathers of the hen. Cases are recorded of confinement which often affects the reproductive system, causing analogous results. But characters properly confined to the female are likewise acquired by the male; the capon takes to sitting on eggs, and will bring up chickens; and what is more curious, the utterly sterile male hybrids from the pheasant and the fowl act in the same manner, 'their delight be-

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ing to watch when the hens leave their nests, and to take on themselves the office of a sitter.' That admirable observer, Reaumer, asserts that a cock, by being long confined in solitude and darkness, can be taught to take charge of young chickens; he then utters a peculiar cry, and retains during his whole life this newly-acquired maternal instinct.

The many well-ascertained cases of various male mammals giving milk show that their rudimentary mammary glands retain this capacity in a latent condition. We thus see that in many, probably in all cases, the secondary characters of each sex lie dormant or latent in the opposite sex, ready to be evolved under peculiar circumstances. We can thus understand how, for instance, it is possible for a good milking cow to transmit her good qualities thru her male offspring to future generations; for we may confidently believe that these qualities are present, tho latent, in the males of each generation. So it is with the game-cock. who can transmit his superi-

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ority in courage and vigor thru his female to his male offspring; and with man, it is known that diseases such as hydrocele, necessarily confined to the male sex, can be transmitted thru the female to the grandson. Such cases as these offer, as was remarked at the commencement of this chapter, the simplest possible examples of reversion, and they are intelligible on the belief that characters common to the grandparent and grandchild of the same sex are present, tho latent, in the intermediate parent of the opposite sex."

Mr. Darwin is strikingly confirmed by the following quotation from Weismann's *The Germ-plasm*, Chapter II, page 111:

"The determination of the sex of an animal may perhaps be referred to similar causes—if, at least, we can assume that the sex is not always universally decided by the act of fertilization, and that influences exerted upon the organism subsequently

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may have an effect in the determination. In the case of certain parasitic crustaceans, the *Cymathoidæ*, the male sexual organs are developed first; and when the animal has fulfilled its functions as a male, the female organs become developed, and give the animal the character of a female."

On page 15 of *The Origin of Species*, Darwin says: "No one can say why a peculiarity is often transmitted from one sex to both sexes, or to one sex alone, *more commonly but not exclusively to the like sex.*" This is another way of saying that the characteristics of the father are more apt to be inherited by the son than by the daughter, and the characteristics of the mother are more apt to be inherited by the daughter than by the son.

All the above quotations mutually sustain and confirm each other as well as confirm the main contention on which this book is based—namely, that secondary

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sexual characters are the result not of fundamental maleness or femaleness, but of conditions surrounding the two sexes respectively, and of variations which usually occur in the male sex, but sometimes occur also among females, and that these characteristics are transmitted from the fathers to the male and from the mothers to the female offspring. This latter contention is more specifically confirmed by quotations from Herbert Spencer, to be found in Chapter XII. The theory that secondary sexual characters are the result of fundamental maleness and fundamental femaleness respectively comes naturally from the discovery that male cells are active and wasteful and female cells passive and conservative—katabolic and anabolic. Against this biological observation may be placed the equally well-established fact (witness the foregoing quotations from Darwin, Weismann. Hertwig and

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Geddes) that males and females alike arise from the same germinal material. If sex is an incident in life and not an essential and fundamental characteristic it can be understood why favoring conditions may considerably increase the proportion of female tadpoles. Similar experiments higher in the scale of life transform what would have been male sheep into female. Since these facts seem to be established it need cause no surprize if science should find a way by which sex in humankind may be predetermined.

If environment and heredity are accepted as the cause of the development of secondary sexual characters, it is not difficult to understand the process. The mother—and this law will apply to all grades of animal life—has been handicapped by the conditions of maternity and has been prevented from utilizing those exercises that tend to the development of stature,

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strength and virility. By the law of sexual heredity the shortcomings and failures of the mother are transmitted to the daughters; and these variations, slight in any one individual or variation, are cumulative; and in hundreds or thousands of generations there are finally developed marked and distinctive characteristics. The father, unhampered by the burdens of maternity, is free to follow such exercises as tend to develop size, strength and activity; and these qualities being transmitted to his male offspring, culminate in markedly virile characteristics. The two sexes, surrounded by differing conditions and following different activities, and, in obedience to the law of sexual heredity, finally evolve such varying characteristics and contrasts that it is not strange such contrasts and characters should be mistaken for fundamental differences.

The sun's rays are condensed in coal,

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and energy conserved therein lies dormant. Combustion of the coal releases or develops force which may be transformed into light at will. Light and heat appear as dissimilar and unlike as male and female, and yet the movement of a switch will transform either of these forces into the other. The coal—or the sun's rays—may be said to represent in the domain of physics what life represents in a higher sphere. Force, or energy, or power—by whatever word it is designated—is the essential and fundamental fact; whether it be manifested as light or heat is an incident. In similar manner in the biological sciences life is the essential and fundamental fact—maleness and femaleness are incidents.

On this hypothesis it is easy to understand why a tree may bring forth male flowers in one latitude and female flowers in another; why the male which has

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usually undergone most variation has sometimes remained stationary while the female is the one that varies; why the male bird is usually ornate and embellished with beautiful colors and yet at times is plain and unattractive while the female is brilliantly decorated; why it is that the hen will usually remain with sober, undemonstrative feminine characters, but does on occasion develop the secondary sexual character of the cock; and again, why the cock has the capacity, repeatedly proved, of helping in the hen's work by hatching and brooding the chicks; why the duck may sometimes assume both the winter and summer plumage of the drake; why male mammals on occasion secrete and give milk; why it is in general throughout the animal kingdom that individuals of one sex exhibit sexual characters usually associated with the opposite sex, and why each sex seems to have in a latent

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state the secondary characters of the other, whereby the male or female can transmit traits peculiar to his or her sex to grandchildren thru his or her offspring of the opposite sex.

It is not to be ignored that the contrary hypothesis has obtained wide acceptance among biologists, the present status of sex being apparently considered the *status quo ante*—of the nature of an unquestionable axiom and one of the rudimentary concepts in the science of biology. Nevertheless, it must seem difficult and is apparently impossible to reconcile these well-attested phenomena with the theory that maleness and femaleness are essential and permanent characteristics. The facts above given clearly affirm that sex is an incident, not essential and fundamental.

The foregoing views are strikingly reinforced by a recent contribution to scien-

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tific discussion. Dr. Lester F. Ward,¹ a president of the American Sociological Society, and the author of several volumes on sociology, contributed an article to the New York *Independent* of March 8, 1906, entitled "The Past and Future of the Sexes." After premising the difficulty of obtaining exact data in sociologic science, largely owing to the comparatively enormous field covered and the almost inconceivably long periods of time the mind has to reckon with, Doctor Ward gives a brief sketch of the history of sex. At the outset all organisms were self-fertile and there was no sex. All life was originally and essentially female.² Then followed the development of the male sex. At first the element was diminutive and

¹ A. Weismann, in his work *The Germ-plasm*, thus refers to Doctor Ward: "The eminent American naturalist, Lester Ward, writes from the thoroly objective and truly scientific point of view."

² It is only fair to state that Dr. Stanley Hall and other sociologists take exception to Doctor Ward's views as to the existence of an exclusive female sex thru primal ages and to other of his ideas set forth in this article. See N. Y. *Independent*, March 22, 1906.

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relatively insignificant; but from the first it aided and increased variation. As soon as the male organisms became numerous the females began a process of selection, and in consequence the males gradually increased in size and importance. Then the males began to compete with each other which still further increased their size and importance, and these two influences united in the development of the male. As the female structure was the higher and the ideal one, the selected fertilizers gradually grew to resemble "their creator, the fertile organism," and later approached it in size as well as in form.

When birds and mammals were first evolved the males of certain species had acquired greater size, strength and ornamentation than the females, as witness the stag and the peacock. In the insect world, however, this sex development has not proceeded to any such length, and we may find

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among that class numerous species in which the male is often a much inferior creature, merely acting as the fertilizing adjunct, which also applies to the still lower organisms. In fact, it is only among the latter that the asexual method of reproduction still survives, for the reason that evolution to higher stages is possible only thru sexual reproduction. Doctor Ward emphasizes the claim that the purpose of sex is not primarily that of reproduction, but is for the organic development of the race by the crossing of strains and intermingling of characters. Mammals being the highest class we know in the animal world, and man the highest of that class, we find in him the male characteristics most fully in evidence. Doctor Ward points out that this superiority in size, strength and other qualifications carries with it no real supremacy or dominion over the female, which thruout the an-

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imal world is the primary fertile organism and has always been the supreme factor in the regulation of the animal economy.

The strength and prowess of the male, it is recalled, have been developed from competition among themselves for the favor of the female. For long generations woman exercised rule over man, and matriarchy, Doctor Ward holds, was the apparently natural order of things. When the change took place which reversed this condition, or how long it continued, it is impossible to say, but it seems probable that it progressed *pari passu* with the growth of the idea of paternity in man. This conception is comparatively of recent date as there still exist human tribes in which the father has no knowledge of his relations to the children, and in which the mother attributes her maternity to some kind of magic.

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Altho the realization of the paternal functions caused a change in the relation of the sexes, unfortunately other mental and moral traits were not correspondingly advanced, and this it is, Doctor Ward believes, that caused the practical enslavement of women thruout many centuries. The patriarchal system which largely prevails in the world to-day is almost universally associated with polygamy—the strongest men owning most of the women. Previously women had selected their mates, thus helping in man's development. In the patriarchal stage, men naturally mated with the most perfect women, and under this new form of selection woman has been "transformed from the undorned but stern and peerless ruler of the household destiny into an ornament of the seraglio and a model of the sculptor. . . . Thus woman lost her power and dignity, probably considerable of her

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stature and certainly in a large degree her mental capacity for protecting and defending her offspring."

While other influences have somewhat checked this degeneracy the fact remains that female beauty has been attained at the cost of many of those "sterling qualities that primarily characterized the female sex as the original trunk of all organic existence and the source and prop of life itself." However, with the change of polygamy to monogamy, which, altho comparatively recent, has been adopted for some centuries by the leading nations of the world, mutual selection by both sexes is the governing factor, and must naturally tend to combine the best qualities in both sexes, harmonize existing sexual distinctions and enable the future man and woman to enter into complete sympathy and understanding with each other. In Doctor Ward's own words:

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“The imperfection of the mutual or monogamic system, as it exists to-day, is most plainly seen in the almost complete economic dependence of woman upon man. She has not regained her pristine independence, not to speak of her primary dominion. The latter, indeed, is not desirable. Female supremacy would be as inimical to true progress as male supremacy. But mutual independence in the economic sense and complete equality in all things not otherwise ordained by nature are the great ends still to be attained. . . . The past has always been characterized by inequality of sex. The future will be characterized by greater and greater equality. The inequalities that have been inherited from the past prevail to a large extent in the present, and most persons assume that they are natural and necessary. There could be no greater mistake. Nothing in the history of the world justifies such an assumption. The movement now begun can not stop until complete equality of the sexes is attained. . . . When com-

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plete equality shall be reached, and not until then, the human race will be really ready to begin its career. Handicapped by this worst of all inequalities, it has thus far been incapable of any great action.”

The claim that secondary sexual characters in all animals and man—as well as those familiar characteristic differences between man and woman which are called respectively masculine and feminine—are the result of environment and heredity and are not caused by constitutional and fundamental differences between maleness and femaleness is still further confirmed by the extracts following from David Starr Jordan’s¹ *Footnotes to Evolution*, page 136. Referring to the possibilities of the human sexless embryo, he says:

“The germ has now to grow and expand by cell division. But besides its vegeta-

¹ President, etc., of Stanford University and an eminent ichthyologist and biologist

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tive growth two possible lines of development lie before it, one of which it must take. It must assume sex. It must become either male or female. The choice of the one at the critical time is as feasible as the other. But once made the choice is irrevocable. Thus far man has found no way to control this choice and nature makes it for him. The sexless embryo is, as it were, suspended on a hair, to be turned to male or female by the first stimulus that may reach it. In the human race such impulses must come thru the mother. Certain of these forces have been partially defined. With certain insects and crustaceans full nutrition increases the number of females; starvation of the mother makes the young male. It may be so with the human race. Doctor Schenck, of Vienna, has formulated certain rules for the control of sex in offspring. Among other things, a proteid or training-table diet before and thru the critical period of early pregnancy should increase the probability of male offspring;

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a fat-producing diet should tend to ensure a daughter (page 312). In the beginning of life, as far as we know, the two sexes must have been identical. From the point of view of evolution neither can be superior or prior to the other. Each is complementary to the other; the differences which have arisen in the progress of development being responses to the needs of division of labor. The cells of protozoa which unite in the function of conjugation are apparently alike as to sex. Their union serves to modify the hereditary characters of their descendants. To have two parents instead of one is to widen the range of possible variation. With time this identity of the two elements in parentage disappears. It gives way to specialization."

So far as I have been informed, Doctor Schenck's anticipations have not been confirmed; but if the accident of the determination of sex "hangs by a hair"; if simply a change of food will develop into a

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male an individual that would have been a female, and the reverse, in an animal so high in the scale as the domestic sheep, it is not unreasonable to expect that human beings are amenable to the same law.

Again, if environment is a principle of so much force that it will develop a potential male into its opposite, it is reasonable to conclude that this same principle, enhanced and augmented by heredity, is the force that has caused the so-called "masculine" and "feminine" traits; and likewise that maleness and femaleness, which are seen to be incidental and, so to speak, accidental, can not be fundamental.

Great numbers of men are observed whose methods of thought and whose essential characteristics are distinctly feminine; and likewise thousands of women who manifest characters which are usually called masculine. This would not be possible if maleness and femaleness

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were fundamental and essential principles.

On the other hand, if we assume that so-called masculine and feminine traits are simply human traits, and are the result primarily of environment—a force of sufficient potency to determine the direction of a sex-tendency—with variation and heredity as contributory factors, we have an hypothesis in accord with all the observed facts.

CHAPTER III

SEXUAL DIFFERENCES AND WOMAN'S DEVELOPMENT

MR. HAVELOCK ELLIS, in *Man and Woman*,¹ has collected a mass of data bearing on the comparative physiology and relative functions, powers and habits of the sexes from which may be gleaned much that tends to establish the contention that sex differentiation as regards mental and physical qualities is neither fundamental nor constitutional, but largely the result of environmental influences and heredity. The work referred to above appeared in 1894, has passed thru a number of editions and been translated into several languages. Its popularity is well deserved. The author evidently has spared no pains in gathering his material and so has produced a volume that is a

¹ London, Walter Scott, Ltd.; New York, Chas. Scribner's Sons.

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veritable storehouse of information to which I am indebted for many of the citations contained in this chapter. His object in the compilation of so much data relating to the sexes was, to quote his own words, to ascertain the extent and nature of the "constitutional differences between men and women." The conclusions he draws are conservative. He says:

"We have not succeeded in determining the radical and essential characters of men and women uninfluenced by external modifying conditions. . . . We have to recognize that our present knowledge of men and women can not tell us what they might be or what they ought to be, but what they actually are under the conditions of civilization. Under varying conditions men and women are, within certain limits, indefinitely modifiable. We are not at liberty to introduce any artificial sexual barrier into social concerns. The respective fitness of men and women for

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any kind of work and any kind of privilege can only be ascertained by actual open experiment. The hope of our future civilization lies in the development in equal freedom of both the masculine and feminine elements in life."

In making this summary of comparison between man and woman in civilization to-day, Mr. Ellis first gives consideration to the anatomic and physiologic data. At birth male infants on the average exceed females in weight, length and girth, the difference in length being about one-fifth of an inch. The size of the head of the male infant is also considerably larger than that of the female. Since the large-headed infant is less able to withstand the perils of parturition and so less likely to survive, the mortality of male infants is somewhat greater than that of females at birth and soon after. During youth both sexes make rapid growth until the third

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year, slow growth during the third and fourth years with the boys a little ahead and keeping this advantage to about the tenth year. From this period to the age of puberty the girls take a decisive lead in the rate of growth, being actually taller between eleven and fourteen and heavier between twelve and fifteen years than boys at the same age. Thereafter, boys again take the lead with a rapid growth more or less maintained until about the age of twenty-three, while girls grow slowly after sixteen to full stature about the twentieth year. Women as a rule attain full development at twenty, whereas men may continue for some years later, especially under favoring conditions. Generally speaking, physical precocity is more marked in women than in men, and the more primitive the race the earlier is the full stature attained.

Compared with man, woman has a

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longer head and trunk, a shorter neck, arms and legs. With respect to the skull, that of man on the whole is thicker and stronger, also projects more over the nose and shows more development than that of woman. In comparing facial types, it is found that women in civilized races show a more prognathous character of face than men; whereas the reverse holds in most savage races, a greater projection of the lower jaw being a male characteristic. The cranial capacity of the sexes is exceedingly varied, altho averaging in favor of the male. Inhabitants of cities, normally occupied, possess a larger cranial capacity than those of the country, and in cases where men and women have been engaged in similar tasks, calling for much the same amount and kind of energy, there is comparatively little difference in their cranial measurements. It is said that among the Jews in the West End of Lon-



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don the women are distinctly inferior in cranial measurements to the men, whereas between the male and female Jews of the East End there is comparatively little difference. This is presumedly because the wealthy Jewesses in the West End are not usually occupied in any serious work, while in the case of the Jews in the East End both sexes are frequently engaged in substantially the same kind of labor.

As to the human brain, while investigation shows that, actually, men possess larger brains than women, yet as compared with the size of the body the difference is hardly appreciable, in fact, if anything it tends to favor women.

If it be incontestably demonstrated that more male than female children have excessively large heads and so suffer more at birth, the cause of this condition is thereby not necessarily settled. Or, to go further, if it should be proved that males

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are more variable than females it is then in order to ascertain if this greater variability of the male arises from a sexual and "constitutional" difference or from a difference in the environment and heredity of the two sexes.

Concerning the senses, from tests made by Professors Bailey and Nichols, reported in the Proceedings of the Kansas Academy of Science, 1884, on the perceptive faculty of smelling, about seventy university students of both sexes being experimented upon, the men proved to have much the more delicate olfactory power. Doctor Ottolenghi's observations in the Turin University confirm this superiority, but to a less marked extent. In respect to taste, women appear to have the advantage in sensitiveness, at any rate so far as sweetness, bitterness and acidity are concerned. The testimony of investigators regarding the detection of salt is

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conflicting, Bailey and Nichols' experiments showing men to be more sensitive, and Ottolenghi's quite the reverse. No very extended experiments appear to have been made as to the relative hearing powers of the sexes, but Mr. Galton's tests at his Anthropomorphic Laboratory in London reveal a decidedly keener development on the part of men. The celebrated English surgeon, Brudenell Carter, who published an analysis of ten thousand cases affecting the eyes, found a distinct preponderance of women and girls over men with diseased or defective sight. Taking normal adults of both sexes, in Europe and America, the consensus of testimony shows no marked superiority of vision in the case of either sex. According to Dr. E. L. Nichols' tests for color sensitiveness with thirty-one males and twenty-three families, the males excelled in regard to red, yellow and green, the fe-

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males showing a keener sense for blue only. On the other hand, color-blindness, according to all authorities, both in Europe and America, is much less common among women than men. The sense of touch in the two sexes has not been as thoroly investigated. Professor Jastrow's experiments regarding the tactile sensitiveness of the hand in the case of male and female students show the women to be decidedly superior to the men in the use of this faculty. Experiments as to the sensibility to pain made upon normal men and women show somewhat varying results, but there is the testimony of distinguished surgeons and dentists that women as a rule stand operations and endure pain with more fortitude than men. In strength, as well as in rapidity and precision of bodily movement, anthropomorphic statistics as well as every-day experience show women to be inferior to

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men.¹ Commenting on this fact, Havelock Ellis says: "To a very large extent, it is certainly a matter of difference in exercise and environment. It is probably also particularly a matter of organic constitution. That this latter factor can in any case account for more than a small proportion of the immense muscular difference which exists between civilized men and women is impossible when we consider the muscular strength displayed by the women among some savage races."²

¹ In public typewriting competitions that have been held during recent years in America between expert typists of both sexes, the highest honors have thrice successively been borne by a young woman, Miss Fritz. The tests cover both accuracy and speed, and are quite severe. Her last record on March 22, 1907, was 2,445 words in 30 minutes, 200 words faster than her previous performance. While these contests may not have the general scientific value of experiments made under expert direction, they indicate nevertheless that the qualities of high coordination exhibited are common to both sexes.

² The following results of very thoro tests instituted by Miss Helen B. Thompson on twenty-five students of each sex at the University of Chicago are taken from her work, *Physiological Norms in Men and Women*, published by the Chicago University, 1903:

Motor ability is better developed in the male than in the female. Men have a greater rapidity of movement and become less fatigued; also have greater accuracy of movement than women. The latter,

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Apropos of the foregoing summary, it is not difficult to understand why men have keener sense perceptions than women when we bear in mind that men thru the ages have led a larger outdoor life and come more in contact with nature. Hence it would be expected, bearing in mind the law of sexual heredity, that men possess a keener sense of smell and more powerful vision. At the same time, there appears no obvious reason why men should be more subject to color-blindness than women. The fact that men in their direct contact with nature and their outdoor pursuits harden and thicken the skin probably explains why they have a less

however, excel in the formation of new motor coordinations such as card sorting.

In taste, men appear to have the higher sensibility; in smell, the reverse holds good.

In regard to hearing, men show a lower limit than women, but in pitch discrimination women excel men.

Vision: In sense of brightness, men have better power; in color vision, women are best. In visual discrimination of area and in estimates of length males are superior to females.

Memory tests show women to be quicker in learning and no less retentive than men.

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keen sense of touch than women. The environment and occupations of men for countless generations have tended to the development of invention and originality. This appears to explain why women yielded up the industrial arts, first promoted by them, to men to be further developed, specialized and embellished; and this explains why women are now inferior to men in manual dexterity.

In a quotation above given, Mr. Havelock Ellis, discussing the superiority of men over women in strength as well as rapidity and precision of movement, says this superiority is caused by exercise and environment, but adds that "it is probably also a matter of organic constitution." He fails, however, to give any reason for this belief, and the affirmation is entirely based on the assumption that there is a fundamental or "organic" maleness and femaleness. I believe I have shown in

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Chapter I good reasons for thinking that Darwin is right in his conclusion that when the sexes differ in other than organic characteristics these differences are due to environment and heredity.

There are further interesting physiologic comparisons between the sexes, such as the greater amount of red corpuscles in the blood of the male, indicating a greater oxygen-absorbing power; a higher specific gravity of blood (except in extreme youth and old age); a lower pulse-beat and greater respiratory power than the female possesses. Yet the conclusion drawn from these facts by those who affirm that "the difference in the quality of the blood of men and women is fundamental" does not appear to be warranted. The difference exists—it is granted; but there is no proof that it is deeper than can be traced to external and modifiable conditions, together with cumulative heredity. Physi-

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ology has already, in the light of fuller knowledge, corrected its error when it held costal or chest respiration to be a sexual peculiarity of woman, distinct from the freer abdominal breathing of man. It is now orthodox science that women normally breathe as men do, but owing to the long-established custom of waist constriction, the compressed organs have adjusted themselves to the changed conditions and chest breathing has thus been artificially induced. Where the attire has for generations been worn loose, women are invariably found to breathe in the natural diaphragmatic manner. In the same way, it is probable that the blood and the pulse-beat of woman when observed under more favoring conditions, approximating to those which obtain in the case of man, will show identical analysis and characteristics, other factors of course being analogous.

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It is instructive when studying the peculiarities of primitive people, to note the great diversities in customs and characteristics. In many tribes the tanning of hides, the gathering and preparation of material for clothing as well as sewing are in the hands of the women; but in East Central Africa all the family's sewing is done by the men; and, according to Macdonald, in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* of August, 1892, the men are the better tailors; and so much has custom made sewing strictly the work of the men that a wife "can obtain a divorce if she can show a rent in her petticoat." In ancient Peru, men did the spinning and weaving, and women the field-work. In Abyssinia, the washing of clothes for both sexes is done entirely by the men; and among certain Arab tribes all the needle-work is performed by them. Generally in savagery, hunting has been wholly in the

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hands of the men, and yet in British Columbia, among certain Indian tribes, the women are nearly as good hunters as the men. Also, among the Tasmanians it is the women who dive for fish, who climb the tall, smooth-barked gum-trees for opossums, and who dig up roots with sticks, in addition to looking after their children. Fighting has mostly been done by the men, and yet women engaged in battle occasionally and even habitually among the ancient Teutons, Slavs and Celts, and have done so more recently in Africa and Australia. The Amazons of Dahomey are historic, and while their feats have probably been exaggerated, the existence and active fighting qualities of a regiment of female warriors numbering about two thousand five hundred is vouched for by Captain Burton as late as 1862, when he saw them marching on an expedition. "The system of warfare,"

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says the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "is one of surprize. The army marches out and when within a few days' journey of the town to be attacked silence is enjoined and no fires are permitted. The regular highways are avoided, and the advance is by a road specially cut thru the bush. The town is surrounded at night, and just before daybreak a rush is made, and every soul captured if possible; none are killed except in self-defense, as the first object is to capture, not to kill." These fighting women are carefully trained, and in the mimic warfare in which they are sometimes exhibited by the king to foreign visitors, they have shown remarkable powers of endurance, fortitude and apparent insensibility to pain.

In fine, there is very little work usually deemed proper for man only that woman has not done, and very little of woman's work, so-called, that has not in some tribes

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been done by the men. Even the function of the patriarch has been filled by woman. The patriarch had as many wives as he could buy or capture and provide for. All the wives and their children were ruled by the patriarch until the day of his death. In what may be called polyandrous countries the matriarch performs the functions of the patriarch. She is the ruler of the family and the clan, and the rights of inheritance must be established thru her. During the recent British expedition into Tibet, conducted by Colonel Younghusband, it was desirable, in one of the settlements thru which the expedition was passing to have a roadway repaired, and it was found necessary to negotiate the contract thru the matriarch of the district who named the price and collected the pay, sending several of her husbands to do the work.

While men are usually taller, larger and

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stronger than women, for which Darwin's explanation is probably the correct one, contrary instances occur among some tribes where the women are as strong and as large as the men, and better formed, a fact which is no doubt explained by the very different social customs of the different tribes.

Accepting Darwin's hypothesis that the superior stature and strength of man have been caused by his struggles, exercises and outdoor life, we have in this a formula for developing woman to a plane of physical equality with her brother. It is simply to induce women to take up outdoor life and such exercises and pursuits as have proved so effective for men. An encouraging start has already been made. During the past two decades prominent educators have strongly urged girl students and women generally to engage in athletics and outdoor sports, with the re-

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sult that many have engaged in bicycling, golf, swimming, walking, tennis and even basketball; and it is popularly believed that the girls and women of this generation are distinctly taller, stronger and healthier than those of a generation ago.

Pres. Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard, recently expressed the opinion that women are not designed for such arduous exercises, and that such physical strenuousness as has been referred to is threatening women's health. He particularly condemns the exercises which are becoming common in women's colleges—jumping, sprinting, hurdling, putting the shot and the like. Well-known physicians agree with President Eliot in thinking that such exercises are injurious to the young women participants. | These gentlemen have overlooked the fact that between thirty and forty years ago, when the question of the coeducation of the sexes was

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first seriously considered, a hue and cry was raised that the curriculum of men's colleges would prove an injurious strain upon women; and Doctor Parker, a Boston physician, published a book of warning urging that women's health would be undermined by such a course, and they would be unable to compete with men anyhow. Yet the contrary has proved true. The young women have taken a majority of the honors, and it is said that Harvard and Yale are enrolling new students from the Middle West who would naturally attend Western universities, but are deterred by the strenuous competition from young women they have to meet there, and it has also been urged that this competition is the reason why some of the prominent universities in the West are limiting the number of women students.¹

¹ The following is the official explanation as given in the U. S. Education Report, 1903, Chapter XX, by Anna Tolman Smith:

"The recent action of three educational institutions, Chicago, Leland Stanford and Wesleyan (Connecticut), discriminating in noticeable



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The opposition to female athletics will probably fail for the same reason that the opposition to coeducational colleges has failed—because of the salutary effect upon the women themselves. The well-trained woman college graduate has found—just what the well-trained male graduate finds—that because of her attainments and discipline she is better fitted for the struggles of life; and the young woman student is also well satisfied with the results of athletics and of the outdoor life; and it

ways between the men and women students has excited great agitation, and has been widely discust as a general reaction against the coeducation policy. This view has given exaggerated importance to measures growing out of conditions peculiar to the respective institutions. In his official report for 1908, Doctor Harper submits a full explanation of the segregation policy recently adopted by Chicago University, for which he assigns three principal causes: (1) the proximity of the university to a large city, with the attendant social distractions; (2) the high ratio of young women students to the whole body; (3) the comparative youth of the junior students. In all these respects, Chicago University offers a contrast to the older coeducational colleges. The action of the authorities of Leland Stanford University in limiting the number of women students to 500 at any time is in pursuance of the special purpose of Stanford, which was the endowment of a university to be distinctively for technical and graduate students. The limit placed by the trustees of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, upon the number of women students—namely, 20 per cent. of the total number for the preceding year—appears to have been determined by the accommodations of the college home for women."

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is a common observation that young women generally are physically stronger as well as mentally brighter and generally more capable than her kind of a generation ago. At the same time, it is unwise to go to extremes. The game of American football is no doubt too severe and arduous for girls to engage in, and basket-ball as sometimes played may be also; but the abuse of anything is no argument against the thing itself. So long as women perceive that there is not only a physical but an ethical value in the outdoor life and varied exercise, there will be an increased and not a diminished indulgence in these sports.

Sports, however, are only among life's incidents, and exert relatively but insignificant influence on development. It is one's life-work that counts. If sedentary habits and indoor occupations have a necessarily cramping and deleterious influ-

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ence upon development, why should woman be subjected to more than her share? Custom and conservatism are powerful factors and hedge us about with bands of steel. It is well that this is so. Otherwise in his restlessness and desire for new sensations man would uproot much which experience has demonstrated to be essential to true progress. It is plainly the part of wisdom to challenge all innovations and to cherish those landmarks of civilization which experience has taught us to value. Nevertheless, change is the law of progress, and while we should jealously conserve all those customs that stand approved by an enlightened judgment and challenge all those innovations that threaten any of our bulwarks, we must nevertheless maintain an open mind toward those movements and changes that promise to uplift the race. Only a generation ago the great majority of well-conditioned and

cultured people looked with horror upon the proposition that woman be admitted to colleges and permitted to invade the professions and other gainful occupations heretofore monopolized by men. It was averred that women would be "unsexed" by such pursuits. Let us bear in mind that it is but a matter of a score or two of years when the only occupations outside of the home open to women were teaching, sewing and domestic service. Women, undeterred, kept steadily knocking at the doors opening to gainful vocations and financial independence; and what has happened? The barriers are broken down and, as compared with conditions only half a century ago, woman has entered into an industrial and professional paradise. She is more independent, more cultured, more helpful, has far greater influence; and instead of being "unsexed" or having deteriorated in any way, has distinctly enhanced her charm.

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While these momentous changes have been rapidly taking place, very little has been done to familiarize us with the thought that women—or at all events women of culture—may engage in outdoor pursuits. All Europe is familiar with the spectacle of peasant women engaging in agricultural work; and in the Middle West of the United States, during the stress of harvest, it is not unusual to see women assist in the field, and upon occasion drive horses and ride sulky-plows or grain-drills. A Mrs. Wilcox, living in a suburb of Lincoln, Nebraska, formerly for five years a school-teacher, has now for some time been following the vocation of a blacksmith. She is said to do all branches of the work—forging iron, repairing wagons and shoeing horses. She has three daughters who are going to school and taking music lessons and who also assist in the shop work. Nevertheless,

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such occupations are considered by the great majority as not only unladylike, but as wholly unsuitable and even improper for women. The inconsistency of this prejudice is most obvious when we bear in mind that thruout the world it is considered entirely proper for women to work long hours and most laboriously at cooking and serving of meals, at washing ironing and the various tasks included in housework. For some years England has boasted a school for teaching young women the arts of bee-keeping, market-gardening, fruit-raising and flower-culture. Our agricultural colleges are also opening to women students the door to these pursuits as well as to general agriculture, dairying and poultry-raising.

According to the census of 1900,¹ the gainful occupations of women in the United States with the number employed

¹ From the *New International Encyclopædia*.

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in each are classified as follows, the total number being 5,329,807 as compared with nearly 24,000,000 males:

WOMEN EMPLOYED IN UNITED STATES—CENSUS 1900

In domestic service	2,099,195
In agriculture (of whom 665,791 are laborers)	980,025
In manufacturing	1,315,890
In trade and transportation	503,574
In professions	431,153
As dressmakers	344,948
As laundresses	355,711
As textile-workers	277,972
As saleswomen	149,256
As stenographers	86,158
As retail dealers	34,132
As bookkeepers and accountants	74,186
As clerks	85,269
As telephone and telegraph operators	22,556

In higher positions were found: 253 bankers, 45 brokers, 1,271 officers of banks, 2,883 manufacturers and officials of companies, 153 builders and contractors, 261 wholesale dealers.

Among unusual employments of women are: 84 civil engineers, 545 carpenters, 41 mechanics, 193 blacksmiths, 571 machinists, 3 mining engineers, 154 boatmen and sailors, 897 watchmen, policemen and detectives, 85 boot-blacks, 1,320 hunters 11 surveyors, 248 chemists, 21

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stevedores, 78 longshoremen, 3,370 steel and iron workers, 409 electricians, 800 brassworkers, 1,775 workers in tin, 100 lumbermen, 113 woodchoppers, 373 sawmill workers, 440 bartenders, 2,086 saloon-keepers, 906 draymen, 324 undertakers, 2 motormen, 5,582 barbers, 13 car conductors, 31 brakemen, 7 steam-car conductors, 2 roofers, 126 plumbers, 45 plasterers, 167 brick and stone masons, 241 paper-hangers, 1,759 painters, 177 stationary engineers and firemen, 1,947 stock-raisers.

The foregoing data from the Census Report, showing the large number of women engaged in unusual occupations and in work heretofore thought to be exclusively adapted for men, will come as a surprise to most readers. According to a report of the Census Bureau dated May 22, 1907, the number of women at work more than doubled in the twenty years from 1880 to 1900; and there was an increase of breadwinners among married women in 1900 as compared with 1890.

Women are engaged in all but nine of the three hundred and three breadwinning occupations of the country. The profes-

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sion of teaching has been longest open to women, and yet during the past ten years women have made more rapid progress even in this field than at any previous time. They now hold positions as principals, city superintendents and college professors; in Colorado and Idaho there are women State superintendents of schools. In our public schools (all grades included) 72 per cent. of the teachers are women. There are over one thousand five hundred women attending medical colleges, and within twenty-four years women have almost created the profession of nursing. In 1906 were graduated about eight thousand trained nurses, of whom over seven thousand were women. During the same year more than four hundred women entered the field as clergymen, lawyers, dentists, and pharmacologists.

There is only a small percentage of women at present whose physical as well

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as mental powers are sufficiently developed to compete successfully with men in the more strenuous pursuits. But this new life upon which women are entering is made up of those exercises and struggles that tend to develop the faculties and powers in which women are now deficient; and it is probable that year by year women will be found in an increasing proportion in all professions and in all work requiring intelligence, industry, sobriety, conscientiousness and the higher traits generally.

¶ It is no new philosophy that advocates similar methods of training for both sexes. Plato said long ago: "In the administration of a State, neither the woman as a woman nor the man as a man has any special function, but the gifts of nature are equally diffused in both sexes; all the pursuits of men are the pursuits of women also."¹ And Xenophon puts into the

¹ Jowett, page 285, Rep., paragraph 455.

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mouth of Socrates a decided assertion of woman's equality with man. "Woman's nature," he says, "happens to be in no way inferior to man's, but she needs insight and strength."¹ In other words she has the powers, but needs to develop them.

The quotation from Darwin already given is to the point: "In order that women should reach the same standard as man, she ought, when nearly adult, to be trained to energy and perseverance and to have her reason and imagination exercised to the highest point; and then she would probably transmit these qualities to her adult daughters." The more girls compete with boys in schools and colleges, and the more women compete with men in the professions and in those pursuits which demand a considerable amount of mental and physical strength, the greater will be their own development and the

¹ Symp. c. ii. 9.

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larger the powers which their daughters will in turn inherit. No fear need be entertained that the result will be hurtful to any individual or class.

CHAPTER IV

WOMAN'S POWER AND WORK

It is obviously difficult to arrive at any accurate determination as to the relative mentality of the sexes in approximately the same class. Some work in this direction has been done by Professor Jastrow and others in cooperation with university students. I am again indebted to Havelock Ellis. In the first test, Professor Jastrow asked twenty-five of each sex to write down one hundred words as rapidly as possible and to record the time. Five thousand words were obtained, of which nearly three thousand were the same; one thousand three hundred and seventy-five words were used by the men, one thousand one hundred and twenty-three by the women. After analyzing the classes of subjects into which the given words ar-

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ranged themselves, the professor remarks: "In general, the feminine traits revealed by this study are an attention to the immediate surroundings, to the finished product, to the ornamental, to the individual and the concrete; while the masculine preference is for the more remote, the constructive, the useful, the general, and the abstract." In another experiment, memory and association were called into play, and the superiority of the feminine mind was shown in the direction of memory; this result being even more strikingly demonstrated in another experiment with high-school students.

An investigation in Berlin quoted by Prof. Stanley Hall,¹ involving several thousand school children, was made in 1891, the result of which is summarized as follows: "The easy and widely diffused concepts are commonest among girls, the

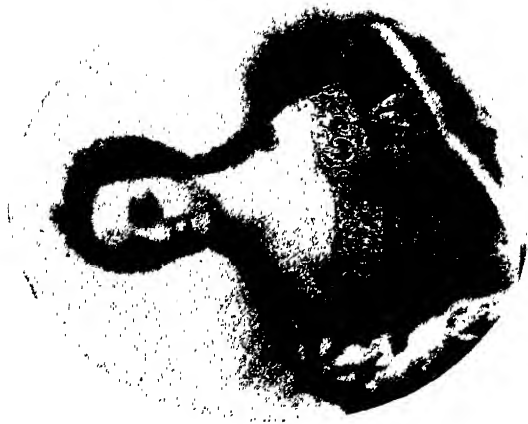
¹ President of Clark University and author of *Adolescence*.

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harder and more special or exceptional ones are common among boys. The girls excel in space concepts, the boys in numbers; more boys could repeat sentences said to them, or sing musical verses sung to them, or sing a song, than girls." Professor Hall made some similar tests in Boston. He says: "The girls excelled in knowledge of the parts of the body, home and family life, thunder, rainbows, in knowledge of square, circle, and triangle, not in that of cube, sphere, or pyramid. Their stories are more imaginative, while their knowledge of things outward and remote, their power to sing and articulate correctly and from dictation, their acquaintance with numbers and animals are distinctly less than that of the boys." Professor Romanes made a test as to the rapid reading power of several well-educated persons of both sexes, in which the women were usually more successful; they not

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only excelled in speed, but in giving a better account of the paragraph in their own words afterward. This facility, however, of quick reading is no criterion of superior intellectual qualities. The general tendency of masculine mental action is toward deliberateness in expression as compared with the female mind, which moves faster and is more inclined to act on impulse in matters that are not under the influence of convention and custom. In most communities the natural instincts of woman have been, from various causes, more or less repressed or hampered by the ignorance or superstition of the dominant sex. But even under these circumstances woman has been able to hold her own, acquiring gradually in the course of numberless generations qualities of craft, subtlety, rapid adaptability, and keen discrimination of masculine character which have served her, indeed been her only



MARIE-THÉRÈSE D'AUTRICHE



CATHARINE II, EMPRESS OF RUSSIA

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weapons against the brutality and sheer force of man. These qualities under more civilized and urbane conditions have been retained in various degrees by the female sex and undoubtedly contribute to the pre-eminent ability that women display in vocations and situations calling for special tact and finesse; in the histrionic realm; as leaders in the gentler social functions and amenities of modern life and in the generally beneficial influence exercised upon the ruder, fiercer, and harsher dispositions of man.

Thru the ages, woman has been the one to follow rather than to lead, but enough notable exceptions have occurred to disprove the assertion that lack of initiative or originality is a characteristic defect of femininity. If woman's general inferiority to man has been brought about by environment and heredity, one would expect to find instances of individual women

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manifesting such powers of genius as make men eminent and conspicuous. This is precisely what has happened.

Many women of history have distinguished themselves by political and statesmanlike qualities as well as martial feats. Boadicea was queen of one of the original tribes of Britain about the middle of the first century. She and her people suffered great injustice and persecution at the hands of the invading Romans. She gathered a large army, stormed and captured several strongholds which had been established in Britain and, according to Tacitus, destroyed seventy thousand Romans before she herself was finally vanquished.

Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, who reigned in the name of her sons in the latter half of the third century, was a woman of great power and brilliant attainments. In addition to the possession of striking

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feminine beauty, her literary acquirements were considerable, and she spoke Latin and Greek as well as Syriac and Coptic. She was distinguished also for prudence, justice and liberality in her administration. She proved herself capable of coping with Roman armies and taxed the Emperor Aurelian's military skill to the utmost before he was able to subdue her.

In the instance of Joan of Arc, it is not important to this survey whether she was miraculously inspired, whether deluded, or even, as some claim, was an impostor—altho this last hypothesis is not tenable when the uprightness of her character is considered. In any event, the facts remain: up to the time of Joan's intervention the English had been uniformly successful and the fortunes of the French were at the lowest ebb. It was thru her ingenuity and enthusiasm that the troops

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were gathered which, under her personal leadership, made such successful sallies upon the English that the siege of Orleans was raised. The tide which had been against the French during the Hundred Years' War was reversed. She was the savior of the Dauphin and of France, and these results were accomplished by the manifestation of traits supposed to be characteristic of the male sex only—initiative, dauntless bravery and self-sacrificing patriotism.

Concerning Queen Elizabeth, it has been claimed that the glories of her reign were due to her ministers rather than herself. But an examination of the record shows that thruout her life she devoted her powers to steering clear of foreign complications. Her personality is as clearly stamped upon her administration as was that of Henry VIII. upon his; and whatever were the actual motives of these two

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rulers, we are indebted to Henry for Protestant England and to Elizabeth for that tranquillity and freedom from foreign entanglements that fostered the growth of commerce and peace, and laid the foundation of that literature of which Shakespeare and Bacon are the most conspicuous examples.

One can not read the biography of Catherine II. of Russia without being struck with the extraordinary qualities of her character and genius. Married at the early age of sixteen, she soon became deeply absorbed in statesmanship and diplomacy. Surrounded by a typically frivolous and impure court, she manifested on the one hand all the frailties of a weak woman, while, on the other, she displayed in constructive statesmanship those strokes of genius which were conspicuously shown by Peter the Great, Napoleon and like master-rulers, and which but for

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a few such examples would have been deemed impossible for a woman. She gave close attention to details of administration and established in St. Petersburg one of the most brilliant courts of Europe. She brought about the partition of Poland and obtained for Russia the lion's share. She brought representatives from the provinces to Moscow to discuss plans of reform. As a result she reorganized the laws and reformed the administration of justice, established elementary schools, built canals, founded institutions of learning and sent abroad artists and scholars to profit by foreign examples. Catherine inherited the mantle of Peter the Great. She found St. Petersburg a village of hovels and left it a city of brick and marble. She lived a life of assiduous industry and of close application to the affairs of her country, and displayed in a remarkable degree—perhaps never ex-

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celled in history—those attributes of genius which are popularly supposed to be the possession only of the male sex.

✓ Were this the only example that history affords of a woman displaying in an eminent degree the qualities ordinarily associated with man, it would not carry so much weight; but there are many other instances of the same type. Maria Theresa, of Austria, was born in 1717 and at the age of nineteen married the Duke of Lorraine, by whom she had sixteen children, ten of whom lived to maturity—four sons and six daughters, of whom Marie Antoinette is the most conspicuous. Her life as a wife and mother did not, however, interfere with the manifestation of her extraordinary powers as a ruler. She came into possession of the throne of Austria at the age of twenty-three. She found her army weak, her people discontented, her finances em-

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barrassed and her country exhausted. After the termination of the War of the Succession, Austria enjoyed a period of peace during which the Empress initiated great financial reforms whereby commerce, manufactures, and agriculture flourished and the burdens of the peasantry were diminished. These measures were hastened and stimulated by anticipation of the renewal of war with Frederick the Great, whose ruin she well-nigh accomplished during the Seven Years' War. In consequence of this war, Austria was again reduced to a state of great exhaustion. Again the Empress introduced reforms by which the penal code was mitigated, the condition of the peasantry ameliorated and the nation's prosperity enhanced. She so endeared herself to the hearts of her people that to this day she is spoken of familiarly by the peasants as "the queen." Altho a devout Roman Catholic,



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she maintained against the court of Rome the rights of Austria. She prohibited the presence of priests when wills were being made, abolished the right of asylum in churches and suppress the inquisition in Milan. The Hungarians who regarded themselves as her special people, still distinguish their country from German Austria and Bohemia by calling it "the territory of the queen." —

In instances such as the above where women were born to rule, and where their minds were naturally and inevitably trained for their life's work, there would appear to be some reason for ascribing to them masculine traits. The life of the Countess of Derby furnishes a noteworthy example of the display of similar characteristics by a woman in comparative private life. Her husband, Lord Derby, owned Lathom House, which had come into the possession of his family in the

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reign of Edward III. In 1644, during the Parliamentary War and in the absence of her husband, the Countess defended the castle for four months against the army of General Fairfax. Spurning his repeated offers of immunity in exchange for surrender, she inspired the garrison by her own constant example with a zeal, confidence and courage that nothing could daunt. When the situation seemed desperate and the destruction of the stronghold was threatened by the besiegers' successful use of a mortar, the Countess planned and executed a sortie against the enemy. She headed, in person, her little band of one hundred as far as the trenches and to such good purpose that the far more numerous assailing army was routed with considerable loss, the trenches taken and occupied, the offending mortar captured and effectively used against the enemy, until the siege was finally raised by

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the approach of Prince Rupert's army. Later in the war an act of treachery was the cause of Lathom House falling into the hands of the Parliamentarians, and the event is thus pointedly referred to in a newspaper of the period: "On Saturday, December 6th, after the House was up, there came letters to the Speaker of the Commons House of the surrender of Lathom House, in Lancashire, belonging to the Earl of Derby, which his lady, the Countess of Derby, proving herself the better soldier of the two, hath above these two years kept in opposition to our forces."

History repeats itself. Queen Victoria's reign presents some striking similarities to that of Queen Elizabeth. England made great strides and showed marvelous prosperity in each, and the two reigns are alike in the development of immortal men in literature and science.

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In Victoria's reign democracy had immensely greater influence and the queen was therefore less able to impress her peculiarities and personality upon the nation's history than her predecessor; at the same time, she showed herself superior to her ministers when she prevented Lord Palmerston in 1864 from embroiling England in a threatened war with Prussia, and again when (it is claimed) she overruled her prime minister at the time of the American Civil War, when that statesman desired to acknowledge the independence of the Southern Confederacy.

A woman is now ruling (the Queen Dowager of China) whose reign rivals that of the most distinguished kings of history in dramatic interest—not only in the absolute personal supremacy she has achieved over the viceroys and governors of the various provinces of the Chinese Empire, but in the reforms modeled upon

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Western experience that she has instituted, and which promise to do for China what the Mikado has been able to do for Japan. These same reforms were impossible in China under the guidance of a weak emperor, but have been made possible by the shrewdness of a woman who has gained absolute sway and is determined that her people shall profit by the experience and achievements of Japan.

It is in the domain of government, no doubt, that the most striking instances are found where women exhibit traits and characteristics usually termed masculine. This is natural because women have for unnumbered generations been placed in dependent positions where they could accomplish their purposes and ambitions only by finesse and diplomacy, and these are important factors in government. But we are not confined to queens for instances where women have manifested the special

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traits usually appropriated by men. We can go to science, art and literature for examples, and, best of all, we can find them in abundance in every-day life. We need to bear in mind that, after all, masculine traits and feminine traits are but human traits; and there is every reason to anticipate that, in the full fruition of the race, each individual, male and female, will exhibit indifferently both masculine and feminine traits. A hero was originally assumed to be exclusively male. The word is defined by the *Century Dictionary* as one who exhibits courage, firmness, fortitude and intellectual greatness in any course of action. To this should be added unselfishness and willingness to risk life for others. The word "heroine" shows sociologic progress and means broadly that woman has come to exemplify virtues that were not originally attributed to her sex.

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Grace Darling, the English heroine, is in point. Thru her initiative, she and her father saved from a wrecked steamer the lives of nine survivors who would otherwise have perished. The storm was so furious that the father, accustomed as he was to the perils of the sea, feared to make the attempt. But Grace Darling insisted, and with the aid of her mother, their boat was launched, the father then taking one oar and his daughter "manning" the other. This feat is the more remarkable as it was the first time that Grace Darling had engaged in rescue work, altho an experienced "boatman."

Progress is marked and great changes are taking place. Grace Darling's exploit made her famous because, among other reasons, such prowess by her sex was then very unusual. The frequency with which women now brave hardship and peril for others has become relatively such a

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commonplace that a repetition of Grace Darling's feat would be merely the newspaper wonder of a day, and add one more to the list of Carnegie medals for heroism. As I write, the morning papers extol the brilliant and heroic action of a young woman in New Jersey, near New York. She was engaged in gathering flowers in a field. Down the road came a maddened runaway horse attached to a wagon occupied by two women, who had not only lost control of the animal, but had dropt the reins and, claspt in each other's arms, were awaiting their doom. Our hero (why should we indicate her sex by the formal designation any more than in the case of an artist?) at a bound cleared the fence and headed the horse just in time to seize the bridle. Clinging to this at the peril of her life for a hundred yards or more, she finally succeeded in bringing the crazed animal to a stop at the edge of a



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dangerous precipice. Such feats, as I have already remarked, have become almost every-day instances. One day we read in the newspapers accounts of how a woman the night before collared a burglar and held him until the policeman arrived; another, how a woman dived from a pier and rescued a man unable to swim; again, in Chicago—I am quoting from actual recent instances—it is a woman who plunges into a burning building which a large number of men bystanders had not the courage to enter and carried out two young children; again rushed in and then appeared on the fire-escape leading an aged man and woman, thus saving nearly half the number of lives rescued in Grace Darling's famous exploit.

If we bear in mind that women have had a very limited opportunity to hold the reins of government, it is surprizing that so many instances are recorded where they

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equal men distinguished as kings, commanders of armies and administrators of government. In the histrionic sphere women have easily achieved places alongside of the foremost men. This is no doubt due to reasons similar to those which explain why women so nearly equal men in affairs of government. Women, in the past, dependent on and subject to man, had no way of obtaining their ends except by playing a part. As we have seen, if women are to equal men in intellectual pursuits, it is necessary that they be surrounded during adolescence and early maturity by conditions stimulating their imagination and initiative. The laws of selection and heredity will do the rest. /In the theater, women have been relatively untrameled, and accordingly a Siddons, Rachel, Ristori, Duse or Bernhardt can claim full equality with a Garrick, Kean, Booth, Irving or Salvini.

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A few women have made brilliant records in science and philosophy. In the fifth century of the Christian era, Hypatia, of Alexandria, whose father was a celebrated mathematician, attained an eminence probably not equaled by any other woman and excelled by few men in history. She was a distinguished lecturer on philosophy and became the recognized head of the Neo-Platonist School; she was an eloquent and effective advocate in the courts of law; she was consulted by the magistrates on account of her great learning and gained eminence as a student of astronomy and mathematics.

Mary Somerville, whose active life was spent in the first half of the last century, is a modern example of the same type. In the face of family opposition she secretly mastered mathematics. She published several mathematical and scientific works, and at the solicitation of Lord Brougham, trans-

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lated and published Laplace's great work, *The Mechanism of the Heavens*. The Royal Astronomical Society conferred its membership upon her and after her death her bust was placed in the Hall of the Royal Society in London.

♪ Maria Mitchell, formerly Professor of Astronomy in Vassar College, was an eminent mathematician and astronomer, and the first woman member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. ♪

♪ Madame Curie, the noted Polish-French scientist, co-discoverer with her husband of radium, is reported to have taken the initiative, and to have made the first researches that led to a discovery which has already in many respects revolutionized scientific concepts. Her husband held an influential position as lecturer at the Sorbonne, and upon his death Madame Curie succeeded to it. She is the mother of two little girls and devotes to them the time she can spare from her laboratory work.

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While literature covers a wide and varied field, it is (with few exceptions) only in one domain, that of fiction, that women have to any degree approximated the work of men. In the lists of poets relatively few women stand high. Of Sappho's writings only some fragments remain, yet enough, according to eminent critics, to show the very highest genius and to entitle the poetess to rank with the foremost lyric writers. Her fame in antiquity rivaled that of Homer. She was called "the poetess" as he was called "the poet." Altho living in so remote an age, 600 B. C., such remains of her writings as have come down to us fully justify the praise lavished on her by the ancients. Vittoria Colonna, distinguished by her friendship with Michelangelo, was a poetess of some merit. She published in 1538 a volume of poems, the popularity of which is shown

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by the fact that four editions were issued in six years. Coming to our own times Jean Ingelow and Elizabeth Barrett Browning (whose *Sonnets from the Portuguese* are thought to be unequaled in the English language) have among others achieved a considerable place; but the most enthusiastic champion of women must see that in this field there is scarcely any basis for comparison with men. Scores of names will occur to the reader, and a few like Christina Rossetti, are worthy of special mention.

Madame de Staël, who may be regarded as a second Rousseau in initiative and in the ability with which she advocated democracy, and in the transforming influence she exerted upon French literature, was one of the few women who manifested the grasp and original power of the foremost male geniuses. When rebuked by Napoleon I. for entering into politics

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Madame de Staël replied: "Women should not be blamed for their interest in the affairs of a country when for that country they lose their heads"—an argument which admitted of no reply.

No less noteworthy is the career of Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797), the English authoress, who afterward married William Godwin. Compelled by family misfortunes early in life to seek her own support, she resorted to teaching and while so engaged she became acquainted with Doctor Johnson, who manifested a warm interest in her work. Finding literature more congenial she accepted a position as literary adviser and translator to Johnson, the London publisher. During this time she brought out several works of fiction, translations and juvenile tales. Her best and most serious work appeared in 1792, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, in which she gave ut-

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terance to views well-nigh a century in advance of her time. She claimed that "if woman be not prepared by education to become the companion of man, she will stop the progress of knowledge, for truth must be common to all"; she urged the equality of education, the responsibility of the State for such education, and the coeducation of the sexes. Until these ends were achieved, she argued, there could be no intellectual and real companionship between the sexes, and any lower relationship she regarded as degrading to both. She was fully the equal of Madame de Staël in originality and power, and was even more radical in her views.

Harriet Martineau and Margaret Fuller were brilliant essayists and had considerable influence upon their generation. The former translated into English Comte's *Philosophie Positive*, reducing the whole work to two volumes which the

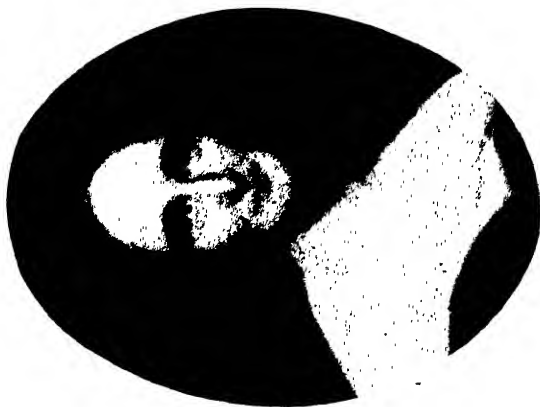


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Encyclopædia Britannica says to most readers is more useful and intelligible than the original. Comte himself strongly approved of it and included the work in his Positivist library.

Among living writers, Mrs. Fawcett, of England, is the author of an introductory text-book on political economy which has become almost a school classic in England. In this country Mrs. Gilman, as will be seen in another chapter, has made original contributions of the highest merit to economics. Ida Tarbell has shown historical and controversial work of a high order; and had she chosen to write under a man's name it would not have occurred to anyone that her essays were written by a woman.

As before said, it is in the field of fiction that women compete successfully with men. Frances Burney D'Arblay published in 1788 her first novel, *Evelina*,

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which rivaled Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe* in the attention it excited. Burke, Reynolds, Johnson and others praised it highly. Her stories were the beginning of the domestic life novel and formed the model for Jane Austen and, to some extent, Maria Edgeworth. It is claimed also that Thackeray obtained his Waterloo scene in *Vanity Fair* from Madame D'Arblay's *Letters and Diaries*, published after her death. It is thus seen that Madame D'Arblay's genius showed a high order of initiative and originality. Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley (1797-1851), second wife of the poet, has been overshadowed by her husband's fame, but deserves notice on her own account. While still in her teens she engaged in a friendly competition with Byron and Shelley for the production of a story based on the supernatural. Byron wrote *The Vampire* and Mrs. Shelley wrote *Frankenstein*,

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which ranks among the most remarkable of imaginative creations. Mrs. Shelley wrote numerous other novels but none showing the powers manifested in *Frankenstein*.

Almost a century has elapsed since Jane Austen's first novels were published, yet they are remarkable still for the qualities which made them popular in her time: the clearness with which they portray the every-day life of the middle classes of England in that age. Sir Walter Scott said that her talent for describing characters of ordinary life and making commonplace things interesting was the most wonderful he had ever met, and exhibited a fidelity that he himself was unable to equal. It is also interesting and pertinent to note that she had none of the mannish qualities popularly ascribed to intellectual and literary women; she was thruout her life distinguished by good

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sense, sweetness of disposition and personal attractiveness. When, half a century later, Miss Evans assumed the name of George Eliot and wrote *Scenes of Clerical Life*, the book made a sensation and the reviewers remarked that it was plain no woman would have written it. Thackeray thought the book was written by a man and gave it warm praise. Now, after half a century, many able critics place George Eliot among the leading novelists, regardless of sex.

It is safe to say that no work of fiction has had a larger vogue or exercised a wider influence upon the history and progress of a nation than Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The Brontë Sisters, Miss Mulock and George Sand are a few among many other women novelists in the nineteenth century who deserve mention. At the present time, out of a multitude of women writers, some

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of them of great excellence, one may mention the names of Mrs. Humphrey Ward, Mrs. Wharton, Mrs. Craigie, Margaret Deland, Gertrude Atherton, Miss Murfree and Mrs. Wilkins-Freeman. In truth, women have not only invaded the field of fiction—they have annexed it and made it a legitimate sphere of women's work.

What is here said of women as writers of fiction, and has also been said of them as exponents of the histrionic art, can hardly be said to apply to any other intellectual occupations except perhaps that of teaching. Women teachers in the United States outnumber men in the common schools by over 75 per cent. In the secondary schools their proportion is about one-half, while in the higher colleges and universities the percentage diminishes until in the advanced college departments a little over 10 per cent. of the instructors are women. It must be borne in mind also

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that the epoch-making writers on education are all men; we have no female Horace Manns or Froebels.

In painting, anything by women approaching the first-class is so meager that there is no ground for comparison between the sexes. Madame Lebrun was a portrait painter at the age of fifteen and at twenty-eight had become so distinguished—partly no doubt because she was a woman—that she was made a member of the French Academy. Angelica Kauffmann also showed early talents, and while still young became famous not only in Italy but in England where at the age of twenty-eight the membership of the Royal Academy was bestowed upon her. Rosa Bonheur, also precocious, was the first woman to receive the French Cross of the Legion of Honor, and is thought by many to have excelled Landseer in the depiction of animal life, especially in scenes of ac-

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tion; while in this country Cecelia Beaux has struck a high note in portraiture. In sculpture, also, there are few names worthy of mention if a list of women artists were to be made; but when it comes to the great masters there are no female Michelangelos or Donatellos, any more than there are in painting female Raphaels or Rembrandts.

In creative music, woman fares no better, perhaps not as well. This may appear strange when it is considered that both in barbarism and in civilization women have taken a prominent part both as singers and as players on musical instruments. But the fact remains. Rubinstein, in his work *Music and Its Masters*, says:

“Women lack two prime qualities necessary for creating—subjectivity and initiative. In practise they can not get beyond objectivity (imitation). They lack courage and conviction to rise to subjectiv-

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ity. For musical creation they lack absorption, concentration, power of thought, largeness of emotional horizon, freedom in outlining, etc. It is a mystery why it should just be music, the noblest, most beautiful, refined, spiritual and emotional product of the human mind that is so inaccessible to woman who is a compound of all those qualities; all the more as she has done great things in the other arts, even in the sciences."

Professor Lombroso gives a brief and comprehensive summing up of this subject in the following paragraphs which are taken from *The Man of Genius* (page 137):

"In the history of genius women have but a small place. Women of genius are rare exceptions in the world. It is an old observation that while thousands of women apply themselves to music for every hundred men, there has not been a single great woman composer. Yet the

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sexual difference here offers no obstacle. Out of six hundred women doctors in North America not one has made any discovery of importance; and with few exceptions the same may be said of the Russians. In physical science it is true that Mary Somerville emerges; and in literature we have George Eliot, George Sand, Daniel Sterne and Madame de Staël; in the fine arts, Rosa Bonheur, Lebrun, Maraini; Sappho and Mrs. Browning opened new paths for poetry; Eleonora d'Arborea, it is said (but the assertion is contested), initiated at the beginning of the fifteenth century legal reforms of almost modern character; Catherine of Siena influenced the politics and religion of her time; Sarah Martin, a poor dress-maker, influenced prison reform; Mrs. Beecher Stowe played a large part in the abolition of slavery in the United States. But of all these, none touch the summits reached by Michelangelo, or Newton, or Balzac. Even J. S. Mill, who was very partial to the cause of women, confest

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that they lacked originality. They are, above all, conservators. Even the few who emerge have, on near examination, something virile about them. As Goncourt said, there are no women of genius; the women of genius are men. Pulcheria, Marie del Medici, Louise, mother of Francis I., Maria Christina, Maria Theresa, Catherine II., Elizabeth, displayed eminent political ability as rulers; as in the field of democracy Madame Roland, Fonseca, George Sand, Madame Adam. Mill affirms that when an Indian state is ruled with vigor and vigilance, three times out of four the ruler is a woman. At the same time, it is noted that when women rule men command; just as when men rule women command. In any case, their number is too limited to compare them with masculine rulers. As in politics, so admirable examples of valor were given by Caterina Sforza and Joan of Arc, Anita Garibaldi, Enrichetta Castiglioni and many others. These facts become more noted because unexpected and

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exceptional. It may be said that the disparity would be much less if the predominance of men, depriving women of the vote in politics and of action in war, had not taken away from women the opportunity of manifesting their capacities. But if there had been in women a really great ability in politics, science, etc., it would have shown itself in overcoming the difficulties opposed to it; nor would arms have been lacking, nor allies, in the enemy's camp. In revolutions (except in religion) women have always been in a small minority, not being found, for example, in the English Revolution, or in that of the Low Countries, or of the United States. They never created a new religion, nor were they ever at the head of great political, artistic or scientific movements. On the contrary, women have often stood in the way of progressive movements. Like children, they are notoriously misoneistic; they preserve ancient habits and customs and religions. In America there are tribes in which women

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keep alive ancient languages which the men have lost; in Sardinia, Sicily, and some remote valleys of Umbria, many ancient prejudices and pagan rites, perhaps of a prehistoric character—superstitious cures, for example—are preserved by women. As Goncourt remarks, they only see persons in everything; they are, as Spencer observes, more merciful than just.”

The hypothesis that the greater share of the intellectual differences between men and women is the result of their respective environment and heredity—not of fundamental maleness and femaleness—fully explains women’s shortcomings. When we bear in mind that the training and habits of men thru unnumbered generations have favored the development of the powers of generalization, abstraction and invention, and that the environment of women—confined to long hours of petty details and absorbing domestic cares—has



GEORGE SAND



GEORGE ELIOT

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for women *have* shown remarkable powers in overcoming manifold difficulties as well as a very high order of genius in government, art and science. The important point to bear in mind is that for countless generations women have been reared under conditions that make the development of intellectual, inventive and philosophical powers well-nigh impossible; and the wonder is not that the number of women who have shown genius has been comparatively small, but that there have been so many. The women who have distinguished themselves have done so in "overcoming the difficulties opposed to them" and "arms have not been lacking, nor allies, in the enemy's camp."

Lombroso says: "Even the few women who emerge have, on examination, something virile about them." This is true only because women of genius manifest powers that have hitherto been thought

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to be the product of maleness only. Hypatia and Mrs. Somerville were celebrated for their beauty, and Mrs. Somerville was a model mother, housekeeper and woman of society. Male traits and female traits are after all human traits, and all men and women are dual in their nature. A man excelling in vigor, strength and power may, nevertheless, on occasion show as much tenderness and refinement as any woman. He is showing only human traits in both respects, and it does not follow that such a man is effeminate or the opposite. So, too, the "few women who emerge" and manifest powers heretofore supposed to be exclusively the traits of men, are not unsexed nor coarsened, nor do they necessarily manifest any less tenderness or refinement. Mrs. Somerville was not "virile" any more than a strong, masterful man who on occasion manifests tenderness and delicacy is

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weak and womanish. Mrs. Somerville's strength and the strong man's delicacy complement each other to gracious ends, while proving the identity of the source from which their human traits are derived. Goncourt's epigram is brilliant, but false. There are women of genius just as there are men of refinement.

CHAPTER V

SUPERFICIAL VIEWS OF WOMAN'S PLACE IN NATURE

AN injury may induce epilepsy. Epilepsy results in a weakening of the intellect, accompanied by excitability and depression of spirits. Ignorant associates of an epileptic are prone to form wrong and unjust conclusions as to the basic moral and mental nature of the unfortunate. Such critics take a superficial view. Unable to assign the true cause of the irascibility and mental weakness shown by the patient, they judge him as if his development were normal and natural.

A century ago, or a little more, victims of insanity were harshly judged and cruelly treated on account of widespread ignorance as to the cause of the abnormal

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traits exhibited. These uninformed observers mistook the erratic and often apparently vicious manifestations of deranged persons for normal manifestations and accordingly formed unjust as well as unsympathetic judgments.

A score of years ago there would have been a consensus of opinion among Western minds, including even the well-informed, that all Oriental peoples are intrinsically and fundamentally inferior to the Caucasian race as exemplified by the inhabitant of Western Europe and America. That this was both a superficial and wholly mistaken view is convincingly demonstrated by the recent progress of Japan. That nation has proved that it possesses the ability both to master Western methods and to assimilate the highest achievements of Western civilization. The Japanese have not only adopted the latest and most effective methods in war,

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but they have given the world an object lesson in courtesy and humanity. And their skins are still brown and their modes of thought still Oriental. We may as well admit the facts; we were mistaken in our view of the basic powers and possibilities of the Oriental mind. We generalized from insufficient data. We suffered from race prejudices, and Japan has done much toward opening our eyes to our narrowness.

Some philosophers and writers of ability have attempted to fix and define woman's place in nature from similarly superficial and inadequate premises. They have observed the many and various weaknesses of woman and, like the ignorant and misinformed critics of the epileptic and insane, have mistaken conditions which are the result of environment and heredity (in the case of woman, during hundreds and perhaps thousands of gen-

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erations) for normal and natural characteristics.

Arthur Schopenhauer, the German philosopher and pessimist, is a notable example of this method. In his *Studies in Pessimism* he devotes a chapter to women, in which he accounts for their limitations by assuming certain propositions as self-evident and indisputable, whereas they are nothing more than assumptions. He says: "Women exist as a whole mainly for the propagation of the species *and are not destined for anything else.*" Again: "The fundamental fault of the female character is that it has no sense of justice. This is mainly due to the fact that women are defective in the powers of reasoning and deliberation, but it is also traceable *to the position which Nature has assigned to them as the weaker sex.*" The italics are mine. Schopenhauer was in the same state of mind about the limitations of

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women that people formerly were about the insane; he mistook an undue development or an abnormal condition for a natural state. But let us quote at some length his indictment of woman's shortcomings. He says:

“They are dependent not upon strength, but upon craft; and hence their instinctive capacity for cunning and their ineradicable tendency to say what is not true. For as lions are provided with claws and teeth, and elephants and boars with tusks, bulls with horns and the cuttlefish with its cloud of inky fluid, so Nature has equipped woman for her defense and protection with the arts of dissimulation; and all the power which Nature has conferred upon man in the shape of physical strength and reason has been bestowed upon woman in this form. Hence dissimulation is innate in woman and almost as much a quality of the stupid as the clever. It is as natural to them to make use of it on every occa-

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sion as it is for those animals to employ their means of defense when they are attacked; they have a feeling that in so doing they are only within their rights. Therefore, a woman who is perfectly truthful and not given to dissimulation is perhaps an impossibility, and for this very reason they are so quick at seeing thru dissimulation in others that it is not a wise thing to attempt it with them. But this fundamental defect which I have stated with all that it entails, gives rise to falsity, faithlessness, treachery, ingratitude and so on. Perjury in a court of justice is more often committed by women than by men. It may, indeed, be generally questioned whether women ought to be sworn at all. From time to time, one finds repeated cases everywhere of women who want for nothing taking things from shop counters when no one is looking and making off with them."

It should be borne in mind that Schopenhauer wrote nearly half a century ear-

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lier than Spencer (whose views on women are quoted in a later chapter) and that women have made marked progress during the last seventy-five years. A correct characterization of women as they were then would therefore not be wholly applicable now. Moreover, Spencer's observations were made in England and Schopenhauer's in Germany; and the status of women is higher in England than in Germany. And altho there is essentially considerable similarity in their respective characterizations, in reasoning therefrom they are as wide as the poles. Spencer traces the origin of the limitations of women to environment and "heredity by sex." Schopenhauer, like the uninformed and unenlightened observers of epileptics and the insane, attributes women's shortcomings to fundamental and natural characteristics.

It must also be borne in mind that since

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Schopenhauer wrote, woman has forced her way into recognition as a competitor with man in trade, manufacturing and professional pursuits, and these activities have undoubtedly already somewhat modified her mental traits. Nevertheless, friends and defenders of woman, in scrutinizing the following quotation from Schopenhauer, will do well to ask themselves if there is not far too much truth in his portraiture, and must rejoice that the enlargement of woman's work and sphere, which was primarily brought about to increase her financial independence and all that that implies, has incidentally wrought a modification of the unlovely traits which this philosopher so pitilessly enumerates. He says:

“The natural feeling between men is mere indifference, but between women it is actual enmity. The reason of this is that trade-jealousy—*odium figulinum*—

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which in the case of men does not go beyond the confines of their own particular pursuit but with women embraces the whole sex, since they have only one kind of business. Even when they meet in the street, women look at one another like Guelphs and Ghibellines. . . . Further, while a man will, as a general rule, always preserve a certain amount of consideration and humanity in speaking to others, even to those who are in a very inferior position, it is intolerable to see how proudly and disdainfully a fine 'lady' will generally behave toward one who is in a lower social rank (I do not mean a woman who is in her service) whenever she speaks to her."

After stigmatizing woman as an "undersized, narrow-shouldered, broad-hipped and short-legged race" he adds that "men need only look at the way she is formed to see that woman is not meant to undergo great labor, whether of mind

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or body. She pays the debt of life not by what she does but by what she suffers." Schopenhauer's assumption that "woman is not meant to undergo great labor" implies that woman's form is in accordance with her true place in nature, and this again is a superficial view. As will be seen in a subsequent chapter, while Spencer observes much the same physical and mental limitations in woman that Schopenhauer does, he advances good reasons for believing that these characteristics are the result of environment and heredity, not of fundamental femaleness. It is quite true that if such characters were the result of woman's essential nature, it would follow that she is "not meant" or naturally adapted to undergo great labor. I have shown in preceding pages that these characters do not arise from woman's inherent nature. Nevertheless, all who are interested in woman's uplift and

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progress, will do well to give sober thought to these strictures. Women for hundreds of years have shown by their efforts that they have the same ambition as men have to excel in art, literature and science; and yet, except as writers of fiction, exponents of vocal and instrumental music and interpreters of the drama, they have succeeded only as exceptions. Schopenhauer has put his finger on the crucial spot; woman has inherited and cultivated a body incapable of entering into competition with man in artistic and intellectual pursuits on terms in any way approaching equality. It is true, since woman's entrance into business and professional pursuits she has greatly increased her efforts and with corresponding success—or her success, at any rate, is becoming less exceptional—but, on the whole, the limitations remain. What is the remedy? Darwin, as has already been shown, has point-

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ed the way. It is needful that every earnest and intelligent mother encourage her daughters to pursue those activities that stimulate alike the development of body and brain.

*Sex and Character*¹ is the name of a remarkable book by Otto Weininger, a young German physician, first published in 1901 when its author was only twenty-one years of age. A third edition was brought out a few months later. This work received considerable attention from the German press, and also called forth criticisms from men of science. Upon its translation and publication in London in 1906, it was reviewed at length in the English press. The London *Telegraph* called it a "startling book, a clever book, a book of patient analysis applied to the illustration of premises which are wholly questionable."

¹ Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.



Florence Nightingale

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The reader of Doctor Weininger's book will do well to keep the words of the *Telegraph* in mind—that the premises are “wholly questionable.” There is almost no attempt to adduce authenticated data as a basis of reasoning; and in no instances are the alleged facts above question. In fine, the author deals in simple assumptions and assertions. The doctor's theory is that the normal woman is always sexual and is always absorbed in the contemplation of marriage, in match-making, in children and in the management of men thru sexuality. When a book has been heralded as scientific, one naturally expects that its conclusions are based on the methods of science. For example, if one reads Professor Geddes on the *Evolution of Sex*, one finds his proposition based on the hypothesis that characters acquired thru environment are not inherited; that female characters are the result of

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a fundamental femaleness. Professor Geddes found difficulties and attempted to meet them by reasoning based on the scientific method, illustrations of which have been given in preceding chapters. In contrast, let us observe Doctor Weininger's method. He says: "Woman is only sexual; man is partly sexual. . . . The female principle is nothing more than sexuality; the male principle is sexual and something more." Of course, Doctor Weininger soon encounters difficulties; he finds women who are not in the least governed by sexual considerations. Observe how he surmounts this difficulty. I quote from Chapter VI, "Emancipated Women":

"A woman's demand for emancipation and her qualification for it are in direct proportion to the amount of maleness in her. Emancipation, as I mean to discuss it, is not the wish for an outward equality

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with man, but what is of real importance in the woman question, the deep-seated craving to acquire man's character, to attain his mental and moral freedom, to reach his real interests and his creative power. I maintain the real female element has neither the desire nor the capacity for emancipation in this sense. All those who are striving for this real emancipation, all women who are truly famous and are of conspicuous mental ability, to the first glance of an expert reveal some of the anatomical characters of the male, some external bodily resemblance to a man. . . . George Eliot had a broad massive forehead; her movements, like her expression, were quick and decided, and lacked all womanly grace. The face of Lavinia Fontana was intellectual and decided, very rarely charming, while that of Rachel Ruysch was almost wholly masculine. The biography of that original poetess, Annette von Droste-Hulshoff, speaks of her wiry, unwomanly frame, and of her face as being masculine, and re-

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calling that of Dante. The authoress and mathematician, Sonia Kowalevska, like Sappho, had an abnormally scanty growth of hair, still less than is the fashion among the poetesses and female students of the present day. It would be a serious omission to forget Rosa Bonheur, the very distinguished painter; and it would be difficult to point to a single female trait in her appearance or character. The notorious Madame Blavatsky is extremely masculine in her appearance. . . . It is only the male element in emancipated women that craves for emancipation."

If one views these problems from the standpoint of humanity—that man is human and woman is human and that the characters of each are the result of environment and heredity, one has a reasonable and logical explanation of why it is that some women—indeed, the great majority—are influenced in their relations to other human beings chiefly by considera-

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tions of sex; why there are other women whose ambitions and activities are apparently wholly free from such considerations, who are absorbed in efforts to achieve distinction in the arts, in science, literature, money-making, *et cetera*; and again, why there are large numbers of women—and these the normal type—whose natures, while they respond to the attractions and duties of matehood and motherhood, are yet mentally affluent enough to devote at least some portion of their activities to artistic, intellectual and philanthropic ends.

It is quite true that some emancipated women, like Rosa Bonheur and Madame Blavatsky, are quite masculine in appearance; and the hypothesis of environment and sexual heredity of Darwin and Spencer will readily account for such cases. On the other hand, in Weininger's list of celebrated women are found the names

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of Madame Lebrun, Mary Somerville, Mrs. Browning and Marie Bashkirtseff, who were women of a distinctly feminine type, and Weininger makes no attempt to account for this. Assertion is not argument; and this brilliant young writer contents himself with the mere affirmation that it is the male element in woman that craves intellectual and artistic pursuits and so ends the matter, without attempting to explain how these women came by their "male element."

Nevertheless, it is not strange that Doctor Weininger's book made a sensation. It is a phenomenon of rare occurrence to find a youth of twenty-one who exhibits a familiarity with literature and science that would be remarkable in one who had devoted twice twenty-one years to such subjects, and sets forth his themes with a grace and fluency of expression such as one meets with usually only among the

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recognized masters of style. Anyone interested in the subject of woman and her rightful place in nature will do well to read this book, not failing, however, to bear in mind that most of its premises are mere assumptions.

Some of the most striking chapters in this remarkable work come at the close, viz: "Woman and Her Significance," and "Woman and Mankind." Mr. William Heinemann, author and playwright, is the London publisher, and his Note, which precedes the author's preface, seems to me quite as remarkable as anything in the book. He says:

"In Wagner's *Kundry*, Weininger recognizes the most profound conception of woman in all literature. In her redemption by the spotless Parsifal, the young philosopher sees the way of mankind marked out; he contrasts with this the program of the modern feminist move-

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ment, with its superficialities and its lies; and so, in conclusion, the book returns to the problem which, in spite of all its wealth of thought, remains its governing idea; the problem of the sexes, and the possibility of a moral relation between them—a moral relation fundamentally different from what is commonly understood by the term, of course. In the two chapters ‘The Nature of Woman and Her Significance in the Universe’ and ‘Woman and Mankind,’ we drink from a fountain of the purest wisdom. A tragic and most unhappy mind reveals itself here, and no thoughtful man will lay down this book without deep emotion and admiration; many, indeed, will close it with almost religious reverence.”

After such impassioned praise from Mr. Heinemann, the reader will be interested in a sample quotation from each of these chapters. The following is from “Woman and Her Significance,” page 274:

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“The point I am urging is that woman is never genuine at any period of her life, not even when she, in hysteria, slavishly accepts the aspect of truth laid on her by another and apparently speaks in accordance with those demands. A woman can laugh, cry, blush, or even look wicked at will: the shrew, when she has some object in view; the ‘maid’ when she has to make a decision for herself. Men have not the organic and physiological qualifications for such dissimulation. If we are able to show that the supposed love of truth in these types of women is no more than their natural hypocrisy in a mask, it is only to be expected that all the other qualities for which woman has been praised will suffer under analysis. Her modesty, her self-respect and her religious fervor are loudly acclaimed. Womanly modesty, none the less, is nothing but prudery; that is, an extravagant denial and rejection of her natural immodesty. Whenever a woman evinces any trace of what could really be called modesty, hysteria is cer-

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tainly answerable for it. The woman who is absolutely unhysterical and not to be influenced—that is, the absolute shrew—will not be ashamed of any reproaches her husband may shower on her, however just: incipient hysteria is present when a woman blushes under her husband's direct censure; but hysteria in its most marked form is present if a woman blushes when she is quite alone: it is only then that she may be said to be fully impregnated with the masculine standard of values."

The following is from "Woman and Mankind," page 334:

"Even a young and beautiful girl is never valued by a woman for her attractions as such (the sense of the beautiful is wanting in woman since they have no standard in themselves to measure it by) but merely because she has more prospect of enslaving a man. The more beautiful a young girl is the more promising she appears to other women, the greater her value to woman as the matchmaker in her

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mission as guardian of the race; it is only this unconscious feeling that makes it possible for a woman to take pleasure in the beauty of a young girl. It goes without saying that this can only happen when the woman in question has already achieved her own end (because, otherwise, envy of a contemporary and the fear of having her own chances jeopardized by others, would overcome other considerations). She must first of all attain her own union, and then she is ready to help others. . . . Kundry appealed often to Parsifal's compassion for her yearnings; but here we see the weakness of sympathetic morality, which attempts to grant every desire of those around, however wrong such wishes may be. . . . But the question is: How ought man to treat woman? As she herself desires to be treated, or as the moral idea would dictate? If he is going to treat her as she wishes, he must have intercourse with her, for she desires it; he must beat her, for she likes to be hurt; he must hypnotize her, since she likes to be hypno-

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tized; he must prove to her by his attentions how little he thinks of himself, for she likes compliments and has no desire to be respected for herself.”

And this final chapter closes with the recommendation that mankind exemplify the course that Parsifal pursued toward Kundry—even to the extinction of the human race. It is not strange that the author of such effusions should have committed suicide; it is, however, incomprehensible that Mr. Heinemann should characterize these efforts as “a fountain of the ripest wisdom” and aver that a perusal of this book will inspire “almost religious reverence.”



Charlotte Perkins Gilman

CHAPTER VI

A WOMAN'S VOICE

A STUDENT of the subject of woman's place in nature is to my mind inadequately equipped until he has read and duly weighed *Women and Economics* by Charlotte Perkins Gilman.¹

Mr. William Heinemann, in his preface to Doctor Weininger's *Sex and Character*, quotes Kant's saying that "woman does not betray her secret" and remarks that this "has been true until now. But now she has revealed it—by the voice of a man." I apprehend that many of the secrets or veiled mysteries of woman have been unveiled to the world, not by the

¹ Published by Small, Maynard & Co., Boston, and G. P. Putnam's Son's, London. Prof. Lester Ward, in the N. Y. *Independent*, defines "cosmological perspective" as an adequate conception of the stability of structures, and especially of social structures, and an adequate allowance for the time required to bring about changes in nature, and he further says that the only person who, to his knowledge, has clearly brought out this cosmological perspective is Mrs. Gilman.

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writings of Doctor Weininger, but by those of Mrs. Gilman. I quote from this "voice," page 51:

"A clear and definite understanding of the difference between race-attributes and sex-attributes should be established. Life consists of action. The action of a living thing is along two main lines—self-preservation and race-preservation. The processes that keep the individual alive, from the involuntary action of his internal organs—every act from breathing to hunting for food, which contributes to the maintenance of the individual life,—these are the processes of self-preservation. Whatever activities tend to keep the race alive, to reproduce the individual, from the involuntary action of the internal organs to the voluntary action of the external organs; every act from the development of germ-cells to the taking care of children, which contributes to the maintenance of the racial life,—these are the processes of race-preservation. In race-

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preservation, male and female have distinctive organs, distinctive functions, distinctive lines of action. In self-preservation, male and female have the same organs, the same functions, the same lines of action. . . . All the varied activities of economic production and distribution, all our arts and industries, crafts and trades, all our growth in science, discovery, government, religion,—these are along the line of self-preservation; these are, or should be, common to both sexes. To teach, to rule, to make, to decorate, to distribute,—these are not sex-functions; they are race-functions. Yet so inordinate is the sex-distinction of the human race that the whole field of human progress has been considered a masculine prerogative. What could more absolutely prove the excessive sex-distinction of the human race? That this difference should surge over all its natural boundaries and blazon itself across every act of life, so that every step of the human creature is marked 'male' or 'female,'—surely this is enough to show

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our oversexed condition. Woman's restricted impression, her confinement to the four walls of the home, have done great execution, of course, in limiting her ideas, her information, her thought—processes and power of judgment; and in giving a disproportionate prominence and intensity to the few things she knows about; but this is innocent in action compared with her restricted expression, the denial of freedom to act. A living organism is modified far less thru the action of external circumstances upon it and its reaction thereto than thru the effect of its own exertions. Skin may be thickened gradually by exposure to the weather; but it is thickened far more quickly by being rubbed against something, as the handle of a broom or an oar. To be surrounded by beautiful things has much influence upon the human creature; to make beautiful things has more. To live among beautiful surroundings and make ugly things is more directly lowering than to live among ugly surroundings and make beau-

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tiful things. What we do modifies us more than what is done to us."

We have seen in Chapter IV, in what I have called their superficial view, how both Schopenhauer and Weininger mistook a result for a cause. These writers perceived the many weaknesses of women and then took it for granted that these weaknesses are the result of woman's nature—of fundamental femaleness. In this, however, they place the cart before the horse. We have seen, on the other hand, how Darwin and, in a less degree, Havelock Ellis, have adopted a very different method. These writers admit the same weaknesses, but regard them as biological phenomena and so come to the conclusion that these weaknesses are probably the result of environment and heredity. From the above quotation, it is seen that Mrs. Gilman adopted the same hypothesis and so has come to similar conclusions.

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The following quotation from page 43 is a further illustration:

“It is in woman that we find most fully exprest the excessive sex-distinction of the human species—physical, psychical, social. See first the physical manifestation. To make clear by an instance the difference between normal and abnormal sex-distinction, look at the relative condition of a wild cow and a ‘milch cow,’ such as we have made. The wild cow is a female. She has healthy calves and enough milk for them; and that is all the femininity she needs. Otherwise than that, she is bovine rather than feminine. She is a light, strong, swift, sinewy creature, able to run, jump and fight, if necessary. We, for economic uses, have artificially developed the cow’s capacity for producing milk. She has become a walking milk-machine, bred and tended to that express end, her value measured in quarts. The secretion of milk is a maternal function—a sex-function. The cow is oversexed.

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Turn her loose in natural conditions and, if she survive the change, she would revert in a very few generations to the plain cow, with her energies used in the general activities of her race, and not all running to milk. Physically, woman belongs to a tall, vigorous, beautiful animal species, capable of great and varied exertion. In every race and time, when she has opportunity for racial activity, she develops accordingly, and is no less a woman for being a healthy human creature. In every race and time where she is denied this opportunity—and few, indeed, have been her years of freedom—she has developed in the lines of action to which she was confined; and these were always lines of sex-activity. In consequence, the body of woman, speaking in the largest generalization, manifests sex-distinction predominantly. Woman's femininity—and the 'eternal feminine' means simply the eternal sexual—is more apparent in proportion to her humanity than the femininity of other animals in proportion to

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their caninity, or felinity, or equinity. A 'feminine hand' or a 'feminine foot' is distinguishable anywhere. We do not hear of a 'feminine paw' or a 'feminine hoof.' A hand is an organ of prehension, a foot an organ of locomotion; they are not secondary sexual characteristics. The comparative smallness and feebleness of woman is a sex-distinction. We have carried it to such an extent that women are commonly known as 'the weaker sex.' There is no such glaring difference between male and female in other advanced species.'"

Mrs. Gilman evidently does not take into account the principle of sexual heredity—the important fact that the characteristics of the father are more apt to be inherited by the son than by the daughter and that the peculiar traits of the mother are more apt to descend to the daughter than to the son. We have already seen that Darwin took note of this

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tendency which Spencer termed "heredity by sex." The following is a quotation from *Woman and Economics*, page 46: "The degree of feebleness and clumsiness common to women, the comparative inability to stand, walk, run, jump, climb and perform other race-functions common to both sexes, is an excessive sex-distinction; and the ensuing transmission of this relative feebleness to their children, *boys and girls alike*, retards human development." The italics are mine.

If the feebleness and clumsiness and peculiar shortcomings of women were transmitted to their "boys and girls alike" the boys would soon approximate the girls in feebleness and clumsiness, while the girls in similar degree would inherit the traits peculiar to men. Of course, daughters do inherit peculiarities from the fathers, and sons likewise from their mothers; but there is an heredity of sex whereby there

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is a cumulative tendency for boys to inherit from their fathers more than from their mothers, and girls in the same manner to inherit from their mothers; and this tendency, strengthened and augmented by thousands of generations, accounts for the present feebleness of woman and the present strength of man.

Like animals, human beings derive their characteristics from environment and heredity. This is strikingly illustrated by the history of the Jewish people. First pastoral and then agricultural, they have for fifteen hundred years been the victims of restriction by Christian nations. Forced to live apart from others in Ghettos, not permitted to own land, and prevented generally from engaging in the varied business activities open to the Gentile, the Jew became identified with the chief occupation left him—loaning and dealing in money. Obligated to struggle

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against all manner of disadvantages, the weaklings were ruthlessly cut off by nature, and only the expert and specially gifted were able to survive and reproduce their kind; hence after two or three scores of generations this natural selection has developed a race of extraordinarily skilful money-dealers and merchants; and the ability to succeed and accumulate wealth under circumstances and conditions where the generality of people would and do fail is everywhere recognized as a Jewish trait. Again, the necessity the Jew was under to get money or perish developed a certain hardness and regardlessness for others and a tendency to pursue questionable methods in business.

It is curious that simultaneously with the development of these money-making traits came the evolution of some of the most beautiful elements of human nature. During the countless ages of

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woman's subjection, her hours of toil, her sorrows and her sufferings, there was developed in her the qualities of sympathy, patience, intuition, delicacy and refinement—now deemed feminine traits. The confinement of Jews in Ghettos and the restrictions imposed on them in their pursuit for a livelihood in like manner developed and emphasized among the Jews equally beautiful traits—loyalty and fidelity in the marriage relation, love of father, mother, brother, sister, husband, wife and children. The Jews excel probably all other people in the generosity and thoroness with which they provide for their poor. And for that matter, wealthy Jews are to-day also most liberal in their gifts to Christian hospitals and charities. In those long centuries of Jewish subjection, the environment of hardship and suffering was much the same for the men and women; and the graces of charity,

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fidelity and sympathy were developed in the two sexes alike. Dr. Morris Fisher has recently published in the *Popular Science Monthly* several essays on "The Jews, a Study of Race and Environment." Doctor Fisher is a decided opponent of the idea of race and a strong upholder of the factor of environment. He says: "There is no such thing as a Jewish race. Ethically, Jews differ according to the country and even the province of the country in which they happen to live." In the subjection of peoples, whether by Christian or Pagan nations, whether in savagery, barbarism or civilization, it was the women alone who experienced the hardships of environment inseparable from slavery and, save in exceptional cases like the Jew, it has been women alone who have developed the graces of patience, sympathy and idealism usually considered feminine traits. There is, therefore, a valid reason

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for believing that these are human traits, and that, whether developed in men and women alike, as among Jews, or chiefly in women among Gentiles, it is the result of environment and not of sex.

It is but a commonplace that a large majority of mankind is conservative and instinctively opposed to changes in laws or conditions which have the sanction of long custom. Fifty years ago, great multitudes of people in the United States, in the North as well as in the South, were convinced that slavery was the only natural and proper condition for the negro. These same people saw clearly enough that freedom is the only just and proper condition for the white man, but could not concede equal freedom to the blacks because accustomed to their enslavement—and so were convinced that the negro was destined by nature to be a hewer of wood and carrier of water, and altogether a be-

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ing unable to live wisely and take care of himself without the guiding hand of a master. These conservatives held stoutly that the abolitionists were impractical visionaries, whose policy was inimical to the best interests of the black man. No one now understands better than the former slave-owner that slavery was a curse and that the South under slavery never could have enjoyed the prosperity and development now in progress. There is none now to question that slavery is a curse and a blight to all who come within its influence—no less to the slaveholder than to the slave. Fifty years ago woman was literally in economic servitude to man. Gainful pursuits were not yet open to her, and she had but one source of livelihood; if not already supported by father or brother her only hope lay in securing a husband who was either already in possession of wealth or had the power to gain

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it. It will be seen on analysis that this state of dependence and quasi-slavery on the part of the women carries in its train a blight not unlike that engendered by negro slavery.

A woman wholly dependent upon a man for a livelihood has but one resource with which to achieve success—she must cultivate those attractions that depend upon sex. This involves confining the woman to the house and limiting her to those activities—or lack of activities—that increase her sexual attraction. Heretofore prevented from engaging in gainful pursuits and in activities that develop mental and physical vigor, woman has been weakened both bodily and mentally. ^{ment} This has reacted upon her offspring, and men are manifestly less healthful and vigorous than they would be if they had been born of robust and vigorous mothers. And this is not all: when the woman has no re-

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sources for a livelihood except to make herself attractive to man, she naturally and inevitably overstimulates him sexually; and this as inevitably leads to the support of the social evil.

In whatever light this matter is viewed, and however unpleasant the thought, it is obvious that there is some analogy between the social evil and that marriage which the woman has sought as a means of livelihood. One is a temporary promiscuous relation, professedly for gain; the other is sought by the woman as a permanent relation, and while on her part usually free from promiscuity, it nevertheless remains true that both these relations are sought by woman as a source of gain or broadly as a means of livelihood. Surely this is a condition to be deplored by every right-thinking and pure-minded person, however conservative or opposed to change.

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When, less than fifty years ago, women began to ask for admission to gainful occupations, conservatives were alarmed lest these women would be coarsened by association with men. This anxiety arose from a mistaken idea. In a foregoing quotation Mrs. Gilman clearly points out the differences between race-attributes and sex-attributes. All those attributes and powers which are called into action in business or professional life are for self-preservation, and are neither masculine nor feminine; they are simply human qualities, and a woman who engages in them is neither coarsened nor the reverse, but is distinctly broadened and her womanly attractions brought out and accentuated. A man of large powers and remarkable skill in business or professional life is not coarsened nor changed in any way, and he is distinctly more sought after and admired. The proof that

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these powers and this skill are not masculine and are simply human traits is seen in the fact that when Madame Lebrun and Angelica Kauffmann paint their pictures, or George Eliot writes her novels, these manifestations of large powers and great skill elicit the same admiration and applause that men excite when they manifest genius of the same order. Indeed, it is common observation that high mental powers, when displayed by a woman, evoke far greater admiration and applause than when manifested by a man. Why? Is it not because of a general tho unconscious' recognition that woman has been hitherto deprived of an opportunity to manifest these mental powers and human traits? As Mrs. Gilman well says: "To teach, to rule, to make, to decorate, to distribute,—these are not sex-functions; they are race-functions." None but women can know the heart hunger, the craving

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during all these ages, for an opportunity to express themselves in other ways than in presenting an attractive appearance to the male sex. And, as the former slaveholder rejoices to-day that negro slavery has been abolished, will not the day come when the very men who now would be most shocked to see their wives or sisters or daughters engaged in gainful pursuits will be the first to rejoice in the full emancipation of woman?

One of the evils resulting from our custom of looking to the husband to meet all expenses is that with the evolution of social wants and consequent increase in household expenses, marriage will be delayed until later and later in life. I do not refer to that small class of the very wealthy with whom money is a minor consideration, nor yet to that large class of the very poor who live from hand to mouth and with whom early marriage and

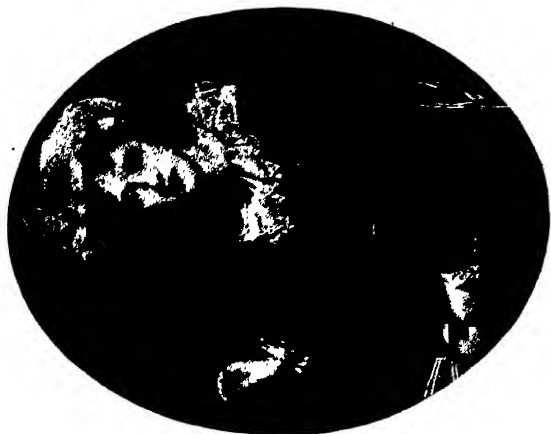


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numerous children are a matter of course. But it can not be gainsaid that in the large class of relatively well-to-do and fairly educated people who are the hope and mainstay of the nation, the expenses of living are ever increasing, and when all means to a livelihood devolve upon the husband, later and later marriages and fewer and fewer children must be the result. When, however, husband and wife engage in gainful work the burden will be greatly decreased and earlier marriages will inevitably follow.

Some economists strenuously object to women entering gainful pursuits on the plea that such a step results in lowering the wages of men, and they rightly claim that lower wages lessen general prosperity and so constitute an evil to be deplored. These same economists must have observed that the introduction of labor-saving machinery also has a tendency not

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only to throw men for a time out of employment, but in some cases also to lower wages; yet such a state of things is clearly shown to be only temporary, and the final outcome is that it opens new fields of work and stimulates to general activity. Prosperity results from high wages, and the increasing wants of those who labor, and the supplying of these wants thru agriculture, manufacturing, merchandising and transportation. It follows that the higher the wages and the greater the number of workers the greater and more widely diffused will be the general prosperity. Before the doors to gainful pursuits were opened, the great majority of women from necessity reduced their wants to a minimum. When considerable numbers of women become wage-earners or enter professions and find themselves in receipt of comfortable incomes, their wants at once increase and thereby manufacturing

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and merchandising are also increased—for merchants and manufacturers have no sex prejudice in trade. And altho when unskilled women first seek employment such a departure has a tendency to lower wages, yet as they become more and more skilled they are not slow in demanding higher and higher wages; and the women who are now earning \$12, \$20 or \$30 a week make a distinct economic contribution to the general prosperity. When labor-saving machinery is first introduced, some men may be thrown out of employment, but as a rule they soon either get larger wages than before by managing the new machines or they find other work equally remunerative.

Even if those women who are fortunately married—whose husbands are either well-to-do or have large earning powers and who share their incomes with their wives on terms of equality—may be said

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to have little to complain of, what about the others who have lost their husbands or who remain unmarried? It need not be pointed out that those women who are capable of earning large incomes are personally greatly benefited quite aside from the fact that their earnings are a factor in the general prosperity. It is all very well for the economist to sit in his study and argue that women ought to be deterred from gainful work for fear that they lower men's wages; but what would he say were he put in the place of one of these women? Let him imagine himself cut off from all support except what might come to him thru the generosity or sense of justice of friends and relatives. How long would he stop to argue the proprieties or ponder the effect of his work from an economic point of view, if in such circumstances a gainful pursuit were opened to him?

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If a woman is equipped before marriage with the power of earning for herself an adequate support, it is evident that some of the most objectionable features of the marriage state are mitigated. Surely then money or other sordid considerations are much less apt to enter into the question. A woman so situated is far more likely to marry for love, and for that reason much less prone to marry for money. And if the marriage prove a disappointment, or the husband die, then surely that woman is fortunate who is able to support herself and her children by her own industrial efforts.

It is incomprehensible that this question should be open to debate. It is but a few years since the telephone, electric lighting and motor cars were introduced. At the outset a discussion as to the practicability or desirability of these inventions was clearly in order.

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Now, however, the debate is closed and the decision rendered; all agree that these innovations have come to stay. Why should there be any further discussion as to the economic desirability of opening gainful occupations to women? They as the persons primarily concerned have answered; and whether or not it is desirable from a man's point of view is hardly a pertinent inquiry.

CHAPTER VII

THEORIES OF CHARLES GODFREY LELAND AND EDWARD CARPENTER

THAT brilliant and versatile writer, Charles Godfrey Leland, well known as the author of *The Breitmann Ballads* and important works on education and psychology, shortly before his death wrote an interesting book on the differences between man and woman.¹ The following quotations are taken from this work:

“The theory on which this book is based is that the fundamental condition or intelligence of the two sexes, or man and woman, is radically different, or corresponding to their physical creation and development. . . . That men and women are, in strict accordance with the opinions of the most recent physiologists, radically

¹ *The Alternate Sex; or, the Female Intellect in Man and the Masculine in Woman.* Published by Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York.

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different as regards both body and mind, altho social or domestic life has given them much in common. That in proportion to the female organs remaining in man, and the male in woman, there exists also in each just so much of their peculiar mental characteristics.”

Edward Carpenter, the English poet and essayist, has also recently published a book on the relation of the sexes.¹ The following quotations are taken from a chapter entitled “The Intermediate Sex”:

“It is beginning to be recognized that the sexes do not, or should not, normally form two groups hopelessly isolated in habit and feeling from each other, but that they rather represent the two poles of *one* group—which is the human race; so that while certainly the extreme specimens at either pole are vastly divergent there are great numbers in the middle region who (tho different corporeally as

¹ *Love's Coming of Age*. Published by Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London.

men and women) are by emotion and temperament very near to each other. . . . We all know women with a strong dash of the masculine temperament, and we all know men whose almost feminine sensibility and intuition seem to belie their bodily form. Nature, it might appear, in mixing the elements which go to compose each individual, does not always keep her two groups of ingredients—which represent the two sexes—properly apart, but often throws them crosswise in a somewhat baffling manner, now this way and now that; yet wisely, we must think—for if a severe distinction of elements were always maintained, the two sexes would soon drift into far latitudes and absolutely cease to understand each other. As it is, there are some remarkable and (we think) indispensable types of character in whom there is such a union or balance of the feminine and masculine qualities that these people become to a great extent the interpreters of men and women to each other.”

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These two books are brought together here for the same reason that in Chapter IV Schopenhauer's *Essay on Women* and Doctor Weininger's work on *Sex and Character* are associated. The four authors are alike in this: that each not only notes the marked characteristic differences between women and men, but also exhibits entire ignorance of the principle of sexual heredity to which Darwin referred and which, as may be seen in Chapter XII, Spencer named "heredity by sex"; and each, furthermore, takes for granted that all differences between men and women, aside from secondary sexual characters, are the result of a fundamental difference between maleness and femaleness. When we come to understand "heredity by sex" and comprehend that woman's present-day weaknesses and infirmities are the result of a cramped environment and cumulative heredity, we

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shall then see the inadequacy of all inductions derived from woman's present development as well as of those deductions based upon theories which have for their foundation the present artificial differences between the sexes and the present manifest inferiority of women to men physically and mentally. When one realizes that woman has not had the opportunities and environment necessary to her free development one sees clearly the futility of basing a generalization upon traits of character that are plainly the result of unjust and unnatural environment and thwarted powers.

And yet both Mr. Leland and Mr. Carpenter make interesting and valuable suggestions; both discern in every man and woman a kind of duality. According to Mr. Leland every man has a female double or inner self and every woman has a male

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mentor or prompter. I quote the following from *The Female Mind in Man*, page 41:

“Great geniuses, men like Goethe, Shakespeare, Shelley, Byron, Darwin, all had the feminine soul very strongly developed in them, and I believe that Coleridge somewhere makes a remark to the same effect. This feminine aid is not genius itself, nor poetry, but it is the muse which inspires man to make it. He could never write anything truly original or beautifully varied without her aid. Nor, on the other hand, would woman create mentally and vigorously without the aid of her masculine inner mentor, any more than she could bear a child *per se*. The outer world common sense of man gives him a perceptive power of selection, or of putting into proper form the material which his muse supplies. There are innumerable men who do good work, and a great deal of it, in this world without any aid, or next to none, from the woman with-



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CHARLOTTE BRONTË



After an Original Family Portrait

J. Austen

in. But they rarely produce anything original, or in accordance with beauty, because they lack imagination. Now all of imagination is not due to the inner woman by any means, but there would be none without her. Thus, by merely apparent paradox, woman, who is so rarely, if ever, a humorist in real life, inspires all the humor which exists in man. For he is consciously, while she is unconsciously, what Edgar A. Poe called the 'Angel of the Odd.' "

This is neither science nor logic; nevertheless, it does not follow that there is not an inspiration as well as an interesting half-truth in these remarks. Emerson's Essays are scarcely scientific nor yet always logical, but who can read them and not realize their inspiration and truth?

It is neither necessary nor helpful to explain the flights of genius by the creation of an hypothesis that every man goes about with a hidden female prompter, and

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that every woman unconsciously harbors an inner male mentor. That the primary concern of the intelligent majority of men and women is the pursuit and discovery of ideal life mates, is hardly to be questioned. The biographies of great geniuses such as Mr. Leland enumerates show conclusively that the inspiration of their lives and works is the search for and the pursuit of their soul mates; and this is just as true of women of genius as it is of men. It was Franklin who said that a husband and wife separated—and we must presume that he referred to a true union or spiritual matehood—are like the two parts of a dissevered pair of shears—good enough to scrape a trencher with, but of no use for the purpose for which the shears were made.

If the longing for and the pursuit of a mate were characteristic of men and not of women, or of women and not of men—

then we would be compelled to admit a profound difference between maleness and femaleness; but what we do see is that the divine passion is as dominant in one sex as in the other, and that in the endless and ever-present quest for matehood each man and each woman is a witness that the all-important things of life are not the property of either sex; that the great matter is to be a human being, and that sex is but an incident.

A generalization is strengthened in the degree that the hypothesis upon which it is founded is wide and far-reaching; a special hypothesis formed to explain special conditions must give way to a general hypothesis if the latter embraces a wider field of phenomena and at the same time makes adequate explanation of the restricted or exceptional facts which the special hypothesis was formed to explain. Fortunately, the general hypothesis in point

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has been familiar to philosophers for centuries; it is as old as democracy and Christianity. The democracy of the Hebrews and the Greeks was for men and patricians; women and slaves were excluded from all consideration. It is the crowning glory of Christianity that its teachings are applicable to every human being irrespective of race, color, sex or condition. In its light, every human being possesses the divine spark, the human ego, and therefore is potentially equal to every other human being. Thus it follows that the only way in which an ideal humanity may be developed or evolved is thru the perception that such human being is heir to every human activity and achievement. This does not mean that every human being must be at one and the same time equally proficient in each and every field of endeavor; it means simply that every field of endeavor must be open to every hu-

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man being. If the male half of the human race were so constituted that it monopolized the philosophical, logical, mathematical, mechanical and artistic realms—and those of genius—then there would be a manifest injustice to the female half of humanity who, tho born with a longing for expression and achievement, yet would be cut off from any possible gratification of this longing. Again, if the female half of the human race is constitutionally and fundamentally ordained to monopolize the graces of beauty, sweetness, patience, refinement, and unselfishness, there is manifestly an equal injustice to man. How much more reasonable and adequate then the hypothesis that every human being is (potentially) heir to every human faculty and achievement—that there is no male or female mind or brain (except where artificially induced) any more than there is a male or a female lung,

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liver or stomach. As we have seen in Chapter III, physiology has corrected its former error that chest respiration is a peculiarity of women, while abdominal breathing is characteristic of men. It is true that costal breathing is a habit of many, perhaps most women in civilization, but science now teaches that this is a result of artificial constriction, and when freed from this handicap women can and do breathe in the same manner as men. It is the object of this book to show that as artificial restrictions are done away with, and men and women are naturally developed, they will be endowed equally with powers of logic and philosophy and with the graces of patience, unselfishness and refinement.

In the light of this broader generalization it is manifest that Mr. Leland's special hypothesis is neither necessary nor true. There is no "alternate sex." All

the powers of mind and of spirit are human, not sexual, and men and women are naturally and potentially co-heirs to every human attribute. The only powers and functions limited by sex are those of reproduction—and these are common to all animals.

The human race is yet in its infancy, and all men and women are but fragments of what the fully developed human being will be. Science—Darwinism and Evolution—demonstrates that progress is inevitable and a law of life. Future generations, the product of unrestricted environment, will develop men and women unrestricted in breathing and thinking.

It will be seen that Mr. Carpenter, like Mr. Leland, also makes use of a restricted hypothesis, when a general one naturally and more adequately explains the facts which he adduces. I quote from page 116 of *Love's Coming of Age*:

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“More than thirty years ago, an Austrian writer, K. H. Ulrichs, drew attention in a series of pamphlets to the existence of a class of people who strongly illustrate the above remarks, and with whom specially this paper is concerned. He pointed out that there were people born in such a position—as it were, on the dividing line between the sexes—that while belonging distinctly to one sex as far as their bodies are concerned they may be said to belong mentally and emotionally to the other; that there were men, for instance, who might be described as of feminine soul enclosed in a male body, or in other cases, women whose definition would be just the reverse. And he maintained that this doubleness of nature was to a great extent proved by the special direction of their love sentiment. For in such cases, as indeed might be expected, the (apparently) masculine person instead of forming a love union with a female tended to contract romantic friendships with one of his own sex; while the

apparently feminine would, instead of marrying in the usual way, devote herself to the love of another feminine. People of this kind (that is, having this special variation of the love-sentiment) he called Urnings (from Uranos heaven; his idea being that the Urning love was of a higher order than the ordinary attachment); and tho we are not obliged to accept his theory about the crosswise connection between 'soul' and 'body' since at best these words are somewhat vague and indefinite, yet his work was important because it was one of the first attempts, in modern times, to recognize the existence of what might be called an intermediate sex, and to give, at any rate, *some* explanation of it."

If it is true that the present mental and physical peculiarities of women are the result not of fundamental femaleness, but of restricted and artificial environment; and also if it is true that while sons are more apt to inherit the peculiarities of their fathers than those of their

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mothers, and the daughters are more apt to inherit from mothers than from fathers—it is equally true that some sons do inherit traits thru their mothers and daughters thru their fathers; and furthermore, if it is true that all these powers and faculties of men and women alike are human faculties—barring only the animal functions of reproduction—and may be inherited alike by both sons and daughters, then we have a clear explanation and understanding of why it is that “people are born in such a position that while belonging to one sex so far as their bodies are concerned they may be said to belong mentally and emotionally to the other.” Obviously, it is because those peculiarities usually deemed masculine and those usually deemed feminine are but human traits and liable to be inherited by both sons and daughters. When, as is often observed, a daughter inherits the forceful, logical and

philosophical qualities of her father, or a son inherits the patient, refined and unselfish characteristics of his mother, those who believe these respective characters are the result of fundamental maleness and femaleness, respectively, are then obliged to erect some hypothesis to explain such evident contradictions of their fundamental beliefs; and to this end Mr. Leland invents the theory of "alternate sex," and Mr. Carpenter adopts that of the "intermediate sex." They are equally superfluous and unnecessary. The facts which these hypotheses are invented to explain are simply proofs that the characteristics which have come to be known as masculine and feminine are merely human traits; not the result of fundamental maleness and femaleness but of the action of restricted environment thru ages of cumulative inheritance.

Mr. Carpenter is right in claiming that

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those men and women who have inherited both so-called masculine and feminine qualities have a more adequate understanding and appreciation of the men and women with whom they come in contact than those who have inherited a fractional and one-sided nature; for, when one considers that so-called masculine and feminine characters are common human traits, and that every man and every woman is a rightful heir of all human faculties, it is plain that a well-rounded nature is more fortunate than one which is fragmentary or lopsided.

It is difficult to perceive any value in the further differentiation which Mr. Carpenter takes from Mr. Ulrichs and apparently approves, namely: the alleged fact that men of certain peculiarities, instead of marrying, tend to "contract romantic friendships with one of their own sex," and that a woman of this peculiar type, in-

stead of marrying in the usual way, "devotes herself to the love of another feminine." Men and women who have inherited in marked degree both so-called masculine and feminine characteristics are quite as competent to understand peculiar sexual traits and to act as intermediaries as these alleged Urnings and, at the same time, are still able to live normal human lives and to marry and beget children. Any facts about the peculiarities of these Urnings are mainly interesting as contributions to the pathology of sex and as examples of the abnormal and morbid. However, in their case, there seems no danger of a survival of the fittest, or otherwise; and, just as Mr. Leland's reasoning fails to establish the existence of an "alternate sex," so a thoro consideration of Mr. Ulrich's theory leads to a similar denial of an "intermediate sex."

CHAPTER VIII

A DARWINIAN SOLUTION—PROFESSOR THOMAS'S SEX AND SOCIETY

IN preceding chapters I have quoted different scientific authorities in support of the theory that the masculine and feminine characters shown respectively by man and woman are not the result of fundamental differences in their maleness and femaleness but are directly traceable to environment and heredity. A recent book by W. I. Thomas¹ of the University of Chicago, Professor of Sociology, is also strikingly confirmatory of this view. The following quotations are from a chapter headed "The Mind of Woman and the Lower Races":

"The differences in mental expression between the lower and the higher races

¹ *Sex and Society: Studies in the Social Psychology of Sex*, by William I. Thomas, University of Chicago Press.

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can be exprest for the most part in terms of attention and practise. The differences in run of attention and practise are in this case due to the development of different habits by groups occupying different habitats and consequently having no copies in common. Woman, on the other hand, exists in the white man's world of practical and scientific activity, but is excluded from full participation in it. Certain organic conditions and historical incidents have, in fact, inclosed her in habits which she neither can nor will fracture, and have also set up in the mind of man an attitude toward her which renders her almost as alien to man's interests and practises as if she were spatially separated from them. . . . In mankind especially the fact that woman had to rely on cunning and the protection of man rather than on swift movement, while man had a freer range of motion and adopted a fighting technique, was the starting point of a differentiation in the habits and interests, which had a profound effect on the con-

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sciousness of each. Man's most immediate, most fascinating and most remunerative occupation was the pursuit of animal life. The pursuit of this stimulated him to the invention of devices for killing and capture; and this aptitude for invention was later extended to the invention of tools and of mechanical devices in general, and finally developed into a settled habit of scientific interest. The scientific imagination which characterizes man in contrast with woman is not a distinctive male trait but represents a constructive habit of attention associated with freer movement and the pursuit of evasive animal forms. The problem of control was more difficult, and the means of securing it became more indirect, mediated, reflective and inventive; that is, more intelligent.

“Woman's activities, on the other hand, were largely limited to plant life, to her children and to manufacture, and the stimulation to mental life and invention in connection with these was not so powerful



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MARY SOMERVILLE

PROFESSOR THOMAS'S SOLUTION

as in the case of man. Her inventions were largely processes of manufacture, connected with her handling of the by-products of the chase. So simple a matter, therefore, as relatively unrestricted motion on the part of man and relatively restricted motion on the part of woman determined the occupations of each, and these occupations in turn created the characteristic mental life of each. In man this was constructive, answering to his varied experience and the need of controlling a moving environment; and in woman it was conservative, answering to her more stationary and monotonous condition. . . . The world of white civilization is intellectually rich because it has amassed a rich fund of general ideas, and has organized these into specialized bodies of knowledge, and has also developed a special technique for the presentation of this knowledge and standpoint to the young members of society, and for localizing their attention in special fields of interest. When for any reason a class of society is excluded from

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this process, as women have been historically, it must necessarily remain ignorant. But while no one would make any assertion that women confined as those in New Ireland and China, must have an intelligence as restricted as their mode of life, we are apt to lose sight altogether of the fact that chivalry and chaperonage and modern convention are the persistence of the old race habit of contempt for women and of their intellectual sequestration. Men and women still form two distinct classes and are not in free communication with each other. Not only are women unable and unwilling to be communicated with directly, unconventionally and truly on many subjects, but men are unwilling to talk to them. I do not have in mind situations involving questions of propriety or delicacy alone, but a certain habit of restraint, originating doubtless in matters relating to sex, extends to all intercourse with women, with the result that they are not really admitted to the intellectual world of men; and there is not only

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eluctance on the part of men to admit m, but a reluctance—or rather a real ability—on their part to enter. Modesty a reference to personal habits has become so ingrained and habitual, and to do thing freely is so foreign to woman, t even free thought is almost of the ure of an immodesty to her.”

Professor Thomas illustrates his position by copious and interesting citations, from which the following are selected:

“In New Caledonia you rarely see men and women talking or sitting together. The women seem perfectly content with the company of their own sex. The men who loiter about with spears in most lazy fashion are seldom seen in the society of the opposite sex. . . . The Ojibway, Peter Jones, thus writes of his own people: ‘I have scarcely ever seen anything like social intercourse between husband and wife, and it is remarkable that the women say little in the presence of the

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men.' The Zulus regard their women with a haughty contempt. If a man were going to the bush to cut firewood with his wives, he and they would take different paths, and neither go nor return in company. If he were going to visit a neighbor and wished his wife to go also, she would follow at a distance. In Senegambia the women live by themselves, rarely with their husbands, and their sex is virtually a clique. In Egypt a man never converses with his wife and in the tomb they are separated by a wall, tho males and females are not usually buried in the same vault. . . . Among the Dacotas custom and superstition ordain that the wife must carefully keep away from all that belongs to her husband's sphere of action. The Bechuanas never allow women to touch their cattle; accordingly, the men have to plow themselves. . . . In Guiana no woman may go near the hut where ourali is made. In the Marquesas the use of canoes is prohibited to the female sex by tabu; the breaking of the rule is pun-

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ished with death. Conversely, among the same people tapa-making belongs exclusively to the women; when they are making it for their own head-dresses it is tabu for the men to touch it. In Nicaragua all the marketing was done by the women. A man might not enter the market nor even see the proceedings at the risk of a beating. In Samoa where the manufacture of cloth is allotted solely to the women, it is degradation for a man to engage in any detail of the process. . . . An Eskimo thinks it an indignity to row in a uniak, the large boat used by women. The different offices of husband and wife are also clearly distinguished; for example, when he has brought his booty to land it would be a stigma on his character if he so much as drew a seal ashore, and generally it is regarded as scandalous for a man to interfere with what is the work of women. In British Guiana, cooking is the province of the women, as elsewhere; on one occasion when the men were compelled perforce to bake some bread they

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were only persuaded to do so with the utmost difficulty, and were afterward pointed out as old women.”¹

Professor Thomas quotes the following as extreme cases and says “they differ only in degree from the chaperonage of modern Europe”:

“I heard from a teacher about some strange customs connected with some of the young girls here (New Zealand), so I asked the chief to take me to the house where they were. The house was about twenty-five feet in length and stood in a reed and bamboo enclosure, across the entrance of which a bundle of dry grass was suspended to show that it was strictly tabu. Inside the house there were three conical structures about seven or eight feet in height and about ten or twelve feet in circumference at the bottom, and for about four feet from the ground, at which point they tapered off to a point at the

¹ A. E. Crawley, “Sexual Taboo,” *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*. (Volume XXIV, page 233.)

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top. These cages were made of the broad leaves of the Pandanus tree, sewn quite close together so that no light and little or no air could enter. On one side of each is an opening which is closed by a double door of plaited cocoanut tree and Pandanus tree leaves. About three feet from the ground there is a stage of bamboos which forms the floor. In each of these cages we were told was a young woman confined, each of whom had to remain for at least four or five years, without ever being allowed to go outside the house. I could scarcely credit the story when I heard it; the whole thing seemed too horrible to be true. I spoke to the chief and told him I wished to see the inside of the cages, and also to see the girls that I might make them the present of a few beads. . . . I then (a girl having been allowed to come out) went to inspect the inside of the cage out of which she had come, but could scarcely put my head inside of it the atmosphere was so hot and stifling. It was clean and contained nothing but a few

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shirt-lengths of bamboo for holding water. There was only one room for the girl to sit or lie down in a crouched position on the bamboo platform, and when the doors are shut it must be nearly or quite dark inside. They are never allowed to come out except once a day to bathe in a dish or wooden bowl placed close to the cage. They say that they perspire profusely. They are placed in these stifling cages when quite young and must remain there until they are young women when they are taken out and have each a great marriage-feast prepared for them. One of them was about fourteen or fifteen years old, and the chief told me she had been there for five years, but would soon be taken out now. The other two were about eight or ten years old, and they would have to stay there for several years longer. I asked if they never died, but they said 'No.'¹

"From the time of engagement until marriage a young woman, in China, is re-

¹ Dank's "Marriage Customs of the New Britain Group," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*. (Volume XVII, page 284.)



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FRANCES BURNEY

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quired to maintain the strictest seclusion. Whenever friends call upon her parents she is expected to retire to the inner apartments, and in all her actions and words guard her conduct with careful solicitude. She must use a close sedan whenever she visits her relations, and in her intercourse with her brothers and the domestics in the household maintain great reserve. Instead of having any opportunity to form those friendships and acquaintances with her own sex which among ourselves become a source of much pleasure at the time and advantage in after life, the Chinese maiden is confined to the circle of her relations and her immediate neighbors. She has few of the pleasing remembrances and associations that are usually connected with school-day life, nor has she often the ability or opportunity to correspond by letter with girls of her own age. Seclusion at this time of life and the custom of crippling the feet combine to confine women in the house almost as much as the strictest laws against their appearing

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abroad; for in girlhood, as they know only a few persons except relatives and can make very few acquaintances after marriage, their circle of friends contracts rather than enlarges as life goes on. This privacy impels girls to learn as much of the world as they can, and among the rich their curiosity is gratified thru maid-servants, match-makers, peddlers, visitors and others.”¹

Professor Thomas nowhere gives evidence of taking into account the law of sexual heredity to which Darwin referred and Spencer named the “heredity of sex,” according to which the peculiarities of the father are more apt to be inherited by his sons than his daughters and the characters of the mother are more apt to be inherited by her daughters than her sons; with the addition that this law is cumulative in its effect and so accounts for the gulf between men and women after

¹ Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*. (Volume I, page 786.)

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a long series of generations. Had Professor Thomas given due attention to this law and its working, it would have enabled him to explain far more convincingly than he has done how the differences in environment have resulted in what appear to be fundamental differences between men and women. To be sure, according to this law, women also inherit from their fathers, but since they inherit more of the mother's qualities than of the father's and since this increased inheritance from the mother necessarily is cumulative there results, after a long series of generations, a female sex strikingly and apparently radically different from the male, and this offers an adequate explanation of why "woman is excluded from full participation in the white man's world." This may be called the Darwinian hypothesis and explanation. Professor Geddes and those

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following his initiative, as may be seen in Chapter II, erected a directly opposed hypothesis and explained the marked present-day differences between men and women, both mentally and physically, on the theory that there is a profound and fundamental difference between maleness and femaleness. Either hypothesis is adequate to explain the phenomena; men of science must determine which of these theories has fewest objections against it and which must, therefore, be accepted as the true one, if no other theory is found equally adequate and equally free from objections. Professor Thomas asserts that the "relatively unrestricted motion on the part of man, and the relatively restricted motion on the part of woman have determined the occupations of each, and these occupations in turn created the characteristic mental life of each." This hypothesis is adequate so far as it goes,

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and is practically identical with that of Darwin and Spencer, except that no account is taken of the law of sexual heredity explained above. Instead, the professor puts forth the theory that civilization has developed "a rich fund of general ideas organized into specialized bodies of knowledge," that woman has been excluded from this body of knowledge and therefore necessarily remains ignorant. If women inherited as much from fathers as from mothers it is clear that as this "body of knowledge" increases they would inherit an increased natural aptitude; and when and wherever this body of knowledge is open they would respond by a corresponding mastery. No such result has followed the wide-spread opening to women of schools and colleges during the past fifty years. Our girls, daughters of educated mothers, are still distinctly "feminine" and, mentally and physically, as

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radically different from boys as would be the case if Professor Geddes' theory of fundamental differences in maleness and femaleness were true.

If Professor Thomas had exploited the law of sexual heredity he would have been less liable to be misunderstood. At a recent meeting of the Society for Political Study, in New York, its president, Mrs. J. H. Judge, in discussing Professor Thomas' "Mind of Woman and the Lower Races," said: "I am at a loss to see how the accident of sex should make such a difference between two persons born of the same mother—why one should be a savage and the other a learned professor, for instance. I think we have been in the habit of assuming that differences exist naturally, when in reality we have made them ourselves." Any one conversant with the law of sexual heredity would readily understand how two persons born of the

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same mother may be as wide apart as the poles in both physical and mental characters; and why a woman may be on a level with the savage in mentality, while her brother may be a trained logician and philosopher.

If the president of the Society for Political Study questions the present inherent and fundamental superiority of the male sex in many respects, and if she has no knowledge of the law of sexual heredity, she must be quite unable to explain why women born of the same mother and the same father are still on the average greatly inferior to their brothers in size, strength and endurance; and this disparity exists when the girls have had an environment including exercise, education and calling quite similar to that of their brothers.

There are other unmistakable differences in the sexes than those just ad-

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verted to, obvious to unbiased observers. In foregoing chapters many of these differences have been pointed out while discussing the writings of Schopenhauer, Doctor Weininger and others. A characteristic trait of woman is her enslavement to the whims of fashion. And this subjection is not confined to the unthinking majority. A few years ago "Rainy Day" clubs were formed in London, New York, Chicago and other English-speaking cities. These clubs were largely composed of brainy, progressive women—who thus banded for the purpose of resisting the absurdities of fashion. The especial mark of membership was the wearing of skirts reaching to the boot-tops and short enough to prevent sweeping the ground even in descending steps. When these clubs were first formed the behests of fashion were favorable to the reformers, as short skirts for street wear were then the vogue; and

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while the fashionable skirt was not quite as short and as well adapted to the exigencies of muddy streets as that adopted by the "Rainy Day" clubs, it was yet short enough to escape in a measure the filth of the street, prevent the soiling of the wearer's clothing and avert the introduction of dangerous germs into human abodes and resorts. There was general rejoicing among reformers, and the sanguine were confident that never again would sensible women submit to such an absurd and uncleanly habit as that of dragging long skirts thru filthy and germ-laden streets. But the fashion changed, and now where are the "Rainy Day" clubs? Its members, quite like other women, appear to-day in costumes with skirts that sweep every stairway their wearers descend unless held up by the overburdened hand of the one-time reformer. Sensible, earnest and progressive women

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may go so far as to protest against the follies of fashion in general, yet because it is the fashion they meekly submit to costumes made without semblance of a pocket, and so contrived that the fashionably gowned woman is unable to dress without assistance. No one imagines for a moment that men would be coerced into such an absurdity. And why? Simply because men have been bred for ages in comparative freedom. Women, on the other hand, submit to the absurd, inconvenient and often dangerous mandates of fashion because for like ages they have been brought up in an environment of subjection, and the cumulative result is a being who is as much a slave to fashion as she formerly was to her owner and husband, while her brother, bred in relative freedom, is consequently relatively free; and this difference in heredity is a clear explanation "why it is that the accident

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of sex should make such a difference between two persons born of the same mother'' and why the difference in philosophic grasp and other mental characteristics between this brother and sister may be as great as that between a savage and a college professor.

CHAPTER IX

THE FORCE OF HEREDITY—WOMEN IN POLITICS

IN preceding chapters special stress is laid upon the influence of environment in shaping heredity. It is difficult to point out what has developed the facility which characterizes the Irish-American in political life. Ireland has had no home government for three or four generations. It is true that she has had more than her share of representatives in Parliament, and Parnell and subsequent leaders have distinguished themselves for their skill and power of organization. But these men belong to a class quite different from the one which usually furnishes the Irish-American immigrant and subsequent politician. From whatever source the heredity, these people have distinctly made themselves felt in the government of

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American cities—as office-holders and particularly as political bosses; an extended list of Irishmen who have achieved fame or notoriety in this respect will occur to any American reader. Few of these, it is true, would be classed among our first citizens. They are sympathetic, generous-hearted and loyal friends, no doubt, but seldom particular as to the means employed to further their ends. There are, however, notable exceptions—men and women whose integrity and high principles are as marked as their other distinctive traits. It is for the purpose of adding emphasis to the basic principles underlying this book—namely, that intellectual, spiritual and artistic characters, as well as the so-called masculine traits of initiative, ingenuity, philosophy, logic and practical sagacity are simply human faculties, neither masculine nor feminine—and incidentally to enable the reader to

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appreciate the better elements of the Irish-American character—that reference is here made to Mayor Mark Fagan, of Jersey City, New Jersey, and to school-teacher Margaret Haley, of Chicago, Illinois.

Of Fagan's upbringing little is on record, but that little stands out sharp and typical.¹ Fagan lost his father in early boyhood and thus the lad was thrown unschooled on the world to pick his living. As a newsboy he learned to hold his own even tho he had to fight for it. At twelve or fourteen he learned a trade in New York with a Scotchman whose strength of character influenced the youth to steadiness of purpose, and when he left this mentor to enter an undertaking establishment in Jersey City, his essential qualities of sympathy and philanthropy had already begun to manifest themselves.

¹I am indebted to *McClure's Magazine*, January, 1906, for the main outlines of this sketch.

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Brought into close relations with the poor and wretched, his innate desire to help and serve his fellows had full scope. In the course of a few years he found himself popular. Altho known as a Republican he was approached by emissaries of the opposite party to run for office on the Board of Freeholders, and finally consented, in the belief that he might be able to do some good in the ward. He was elected and had his first insight into the depravity of political life when frankly invited to join the other incumbents in the division of the spoils of office. The invitation was quietly rejected. The following year, by a rearrangement of wards, young Fagan was left out of the Board, but was later nominated by his own party for the State Senate. He lost this election by an adverse vote in the rural precincts, but astonished even his friends by carrying Jersey City, a Democratic

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stronghold. In 1901 Fagan was elected Mayor of Jersey City, being almost the only successful candidate on his ticket. Then came in quick succession the crucial tests that have tried and demonstrated the mettle and worth of the man. Intimidation, cajolery, flattery, bluff, even direct bribery were resorted to by the bosses with intent to continue the spoils system and graft of the past; also by corporations enjoying valuable public privileges at a nominal cost; and by time-serving senators and representatives in a position to bury or block bills inimical to the powerful interests which employ them,—all these influences, sometimes separately, sometimes in combination, he has been compelled to face and fight. At first it seemed a case of one man against a multitude, but, one by one, Fagan has gradually drawn around him men of his own type who regard public office as a public trust for the



AMELIA OPIE

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betterment of the people rather than for the selfish interests of the politicians. Municipal improvements of all kinds were badly needed; and in order to raise money the Mayor had to insist on the tax-shirkers paying their dues; on the street-car systems being properly assessed; on the users of public franchises contributing their just quota to the city treasury; on the rates for public utilities being kept down to a reasonable point—in fine, to insist that the law be enforced as strictly in the case of the wealthy corporation as in that of the private individual. All these reforms have involved incessant vigilance, hard work, strategy and much warfare to secure and maintain. In the face of apparently overwhelming odds, this man of the people, still young, personally simple, direct and honest in all his methods, with a single ambition to make the city he loves physically and morally clean, an attract-

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ive home for all its citizens and especially for the wage-earner, has succeeded and is succeeding in realizing his ideal. This struggle, with its outcome, has been more than local in its influence; it has helped to raise the standard of municipal honesty and to encourage similar efforts in other cities.

An equally remarkable record is that of Miss Margaret Haley of Chicago.¹ Her career disproves the claim that women have no bent for politics and are physically and mentally incapable of working in competition with men. Miss Haley is one of the celebrities of her city at the present time, having by dint of sheer force of character emerged from the obscurity of a public school-teacher into the forefront of the municipal stage where she is popularly regarded as one of the champions of democracy. It was in 1892 her public

¹ For the following facts, credit is due to the *Times Magazine* of January and February, 1907.

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career began by stirring up her fellow teachers to protest against a bill which proposed to centralize all educational authority—such as the appointment of teachers, choice of school-books, etc., in the person of the superintendent. Regarding it as undemocratic in principle and likely to be subversive of a progressive educational policy, and realizing that she would not succeed if she flatly demanded its recall, she first framed a conservatively-worded petition asking the Legislature to postpone consideration of this bill in order that the citizens might have time to study and understand it. Thru her fellow teachers and by her own efforts in circulating the petition she secured at the end of a few weeks fifty thousand signatures. She addressed public meetings thruout the city after her regular day's work, and by a fervent appeal secured the support of the Federation of

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Labor. She had to overcome opposition in the Teachers' Federation before attaining any considerable influence, and succeeded in outmaneuvering and outvoting all opposition and establishing a united federation in accord with her progressive policy. In due course she personally presented the petition to the Legislature and the obnoxious bill was withdrawn. Less than two years later, in 1901, a still greater triumph was achieved when Miss Haley compelled a reluctant State Board of Equalization to perform its duty. Prior to that date, the Board had permitted several municipal corporations to carry on their business without taxation, altho the city treasury was so low that a portion of the teachers' salaries remained unpaid. Posting herself thoroly on the law, Miss Haley obtained a mandamus from the courts enjoining the State Board to tax the corporations or suffer the penalty of

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imprisonment. Despite formidable opposition this mandamus was upheld and enforced; and the Board, thus compelled to summary action, actually accepted Miss Haley's figures on the value of these properties. As a result the school tax fund was increased by \$250,000 a year. Miss Haley, however, had still much to contend with. The Board of Education ignored the teachers' first claim for unpaid back salaries and appropriated the whole amount to other purposes. Still undaunted, she resolved to reconstruct the then existing board. Her first step was to strengthen the Teachers' Federation by uniting it with the Federation of Labor, in which latter body Miss Haley became one of the Committee on Legislation. Her second step was to fight against corruption in the Labor Federation itself, in which once more her astuteness and foresight brought her victory. Allying her forces with other

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political and reform associations which she recognized as helpful and working for the election of a mayor sympathetic to her cause, Miss Haley finally realized her ambition. The new mayor whom she had enthusiastically supported not only respected her suggestions on educational matters, but largely replaced the old Board of Education by members in accord with Miss Haley's policy, while the president of the Board is one of her former associates.

That a friendless, moneyless school-teacher should be able to exert such political influence in a great community like Chicago is a picturesque illustration of the political possibilities open to women in America. Miss Haley's career is only a fresh illustration of the truth that traits of character heretofore deemed masculine are simply human traits and may be manifested as fully by women as by men.

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Miss Haley is not alone. There are several other women in Chicago who are equally active and influential in furthering the city's welfare and improving its conditions. Miss Jane Addams, the founder of Hull House Settlement, has achieved international fame. William Hard in the *American Magazine* says of her: "Selecting beautiful pictures for the walls of Hull House, founding a co-operative club-house for young working women, conducting a famous political fight against a corrupt alderman, bringing out young people with a talent for painting or music, toiling on the Board of Education, providing a stage at Hull House for local dramatic societies, shaming the city into enforcing its health laws by publishing a study of the causes of typhoid fever in a tenement district,—all these things and a thousand others engage her daily attention. . . . The difficulty of

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writing about her is to seem judicious to those who do not know her." Miss Julia Lathrop interested herself in the maltreatment of the inmates of poorhouses and insane asylums and hospitals of Illinois. She personally investigated the conditions obtaining in the charitable institutions of the State. As a result of her efforts these investigations were taken up by the newspapers, and Miss Lathrop was made a member of the State Board of Charities, and the insane and other wards of the State have improved conditions and prospects. Dr. Cornelia DeBey, a member of the Board of Education, and Miss Mary McDowell, an influential organizer among women workers and a force for peace in times of strike, have each done most valuable work for Chicago.

When General Grant was chopping wood and carting it to St. Louis for a livelihood, or afterward when a book-

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keeper for a tannery in Geneva, Wisconsin, no one would have dreamed that he was destined to become one of the great military commanders of history. Grant's career is a confirmation of the truth of democracy; that it is the inherent nature of the individual which is important, not the class or station in life in which the individual is born. When Joan of Arc developed the acumen and military strategy which enabled her to outwit the English and to crown the Dauphin and seat him on the throne, she not only gave proof of the truth of democracy, but confirmed the claim that military genius is not the accident of sex but is a human trait. Joan demonstrated her possession of military genius by her achievements; she also demonstrated the possession of unsurpassed intellectual acumen when confronted with the judges at her trial.

CHAPTER X

COEDUCATION AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

It is worthy of note that woman's education during the past half century runs *pari passu* with her invasion of the gainful trades and professions. A primary incentive with young men to seek a college education is the fact that such education increases their earning power. Other considerations have influence, of course. One enjoying financial independence may have an inborn love of scholarship, and many are no doubt stimulated in the pursuit of knowledge by the higher standing it gives them in the community. But after all, the great bulk of young men have undoubtedly been moved to undergo the restraints and hard work of college life because of the greater earning power which an edu-

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cation affords and the greater ease with which positions of trust and emolument are reached.

It is precisely these motives that have actuated young women in deciding upon an educational career. The ambition to achieve financial independence is not a sexual characteristic; it is simply a human trait, and it is, therefore, no more strange that women students should have this end in view than that young men should.

The following figures give evidence of the very great progress of women in educational institutions where the specified professional subjects are studied: Between 1890 and 1898 the increase of men students in medicine was 51.1, of women 64.2. In dentistry, the increase of men students was 150.2, that of women 205.7. In pharmacy, men 25.9, women 190. In technology and agriculture, men 119.3, women 194.7.

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When women first asked admission to colleges it was the opinion of many leading teachers that there were physiological obstacles which would prevent women from taking the laborious courses prescribed for men. Experience has shown that this is a mistake. The data at hand show that out of seven hundred and five women graduates from twelve American colleges, 78 per cent. were in good, and 5 per cent. in fair health. This compares with 75 per cent. in similar tests in England and is 5 per cent. better than the health of a given number of women of the same age who were not college graduates.

In preceding chapters, good reasons are advanced for believing that woman naturally has a genius for government and has exceptional powers of administration. The following in confirmation is quoted from an article entitled "Education of Women," by Nicholas Murray Butler,



Felicia Hemans

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President of Columbia University, in
Education in the United States:

“At Vassar there is at present a well-developed system of what is known as ‘limited self-government’ according to which many matters of discipline are entrusted to the whole body of students. Bryn Mawr was organized with a system of self-government by the students, perhaps more far-reaching than was in operation in any of the colleges for men.¹ The necessary rules are made by the students’ associations, which include all undergraduate and graduate students, and enforced by an executive committee of students who in the case of a serious offense may recommend the suspension or expulsion of the offender, and whose recommendation when sustained by the whole association is always accepted by the college. The perfect success of the system has shown that there is no risk in relying

¹ Readers will bear in mind that these colleges are both exclusively for women.

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to the full extent on the discretion of a body of women students.”

✓ I have already in a former chapter pointed out the analogy between negro slavery and the subjection of women. For centuries negroes were held in bondage. If a philanthropist or reformer demanded freedom for the black man the conservatives replied that the negro was born to serve; that service is natural to him; that he is incapable of managing his own affairs; that he is the natural ward of the white man; and that it is the white man's duty to regulate the black man's life. When the American States issued their Declaration of Independence, as well as when later the French Revolutionists, inspired by the teachings of Rousseau, proposed to destroy the monarchy and establish a republic, conservatives and upholders of the established order made the same reply. They claimed that the king

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was born to rule; that a monarchical government is natural and has divine sanction; that an elected ruler would necessarily be a demagog and use his office to corrupt and selfish ends. Now it is seen that the conservatives were mistaken; that monarchical rule is neither natural nor just, and even the England of George III. is now governed by the voice of democracy as completely as any republic. At this day democracy is insinuating itself into all the governments of Europe, and it is only a question of time when even Russia will have a constitutional and democratic form of government.

All this is pertinent only to show the fallacy of the invariable claim of the conservative—that the existing condition is natural and therefore right. Fifty years ago, when women first began practically to assert their right to freedom and self-support, conservatism raised its well-

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worn cry that woman's natural sphere is the home; that she is the natural protégé of her father, brother or husband; that to enter gainful pursuits would destroy her delicacy and unsex her—whatever that may mean; and there has been a more persistent and determined cry against the woman movement for self-support than was ever heard against freedom and democracy. The apologist for negro slavery is dead—his voice is no longer heard in the land; monarchical governments are going or gone. What is the present status of the woman movement? In Chapter III there is a general survey of the progress women have made in their efforts to force an opening into gainful pursuits. The history of the education of women and of the coeducation movement is certainly encouraging.

In America,¹ coeducation prevails ex-

¹ The statistics quoted are taken from United States Commission of Education Reports, 1898 and 1903.

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tensively in the Western states and territories, and is rapidly gaining ground thruout the North. Altogether twenty state universities are now open to women. Among private universities, Cornell has Sage College for women and Boston University has admitted women from the first, 1873. Out of four hundred and eighty educational colleges in the United States, three hundred and thirty-six, or 70 per cent., admit women. A closer comparison covering fifty-eight colleges, giving a more extended and complete educational course, yields fifty-eight per cent. as coeducational. The proportion of women students to total number of college students is nearly 25 per cent., while their proportion to students in coeducational colleges is close on 50 per cent.

The uniform experience of coeducational colleges shows the average standing of women as slightly higher than that of

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lift of the race is convincingly shown by the article on coeducation which appears in the 1903 edition of the *International Encyclopedia* to which I am indebted for most of the following data:

Coeducation is practically general in the public elementary schools of the United States, the exceptions being found in a few of the larger Eastern cities, such as New York and Boston.

In England, since 1891, coeducation in the same grade of schools is also largely the rule. In France, communes with more than five hundred inhabitants must establish a separate elementary school for girls unless the departmental council sanctions a mixt school. The law of 1871 in Prussia favored sex separation in the public schools, but in 1896 the mixt schools outnumbered the others by more than one-half. In Austria, Switzerland and Sweden, coeducation is again pre-

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dominant in the elementary school systems. In Italy, on the contrary, the separate system is the rule.

A very different condition exists in regard to secondary education in Europe, every nationality named above segregating the sexes in all government lycées, colleges or gymnasia, even where (which is not always the case) statutory provision is made for young women students.

The United States presents a striking contrast. In 1899 there were 5,495 public high schools, of which 5,439 were coeducational, with only twenty-two exclusively for girls and thirty-four for boys. Out of 1,957 private secondary schools, 1,092 were coeducational, with 541 exclusively for girls and 324 for boys. The public normal schools in 1898-99 numbered 166. Of these, two were exclusively for women; twelve had no men in attendance, tho presumably coeducational; the rest contained

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both sexes. Of the 165 private normal schools, five prepare kindergarten teachers and have no men in attendance; one is exclusively for women, while two others report no men, and there are three that report no women. The English training schools for teachers, the French primary and superior normal schools, and the Prussian normal schools separate the sexes.

In Europe, generally speaking, wherever separate schools can be maintained they are favored. From economical considerations, however, mixt elementary schools have, as we have seen, been quite widely adopted, and no doubt the same reason has had much to do with the establishment of mixed schools in the United States. It was owing to Horace Mann's persistent advocacy that a system of town educational high schools was instituted as early as 1826, from which time such

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schools have gradually spread thruout the country until they have become almost invariable features of every community. The Civil War placed both elementary and secondary education largely in the hands of women teachers.¹ There accordingly followed a demand on their part for better opportunities for instruction. In 1883, Oberlin Collegiate Institute in Ohio had admitted women. In 1855, Antioch College, also in Ohio, was founded—coeducational from the beginning, and having as its first president Horace Mann, the ardent advocate of this system. One by one, the state universities of the West opened their doors to women until, at this date, of thirty-two state institutions in all, only three exclude women. Again, of fifty-eight private leading colleges and

¹ According to Dr. Anna Tolman Smith in the United States Report of Education, 1903, Chapter XX, the percentage of women teachers is now as follows: In public elementary schools, 51 per cent.; private elementary schools, 58 per cent.; colleges and seminaries for women, 72 per cent.; coeducational colleges—preparatory departments, 29 per cent.; college departments, 10 per cent.

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universities, four are independent colleges for women, three are women's colleges affiliated with men's colleges, thirty are co-educational, and of the remaining twenty-one, five have affiliated women's colleges. Only twelve of the fifty-eight exclude women from all departments.

In Canada and Australia, all the universities admit women co-equal with men, and in the latter country women are eligible as lecturers and professors.

London University, England, has been open to women on equal terms with men since 1878. Victoria University and the University of Wales give similar privileges to women. Durham University excludes women only from the theological course. Cambridge admits women to nearly all university privileges and grants a titular degree to those who fulfill the regular requirements. Similar conditions obtain at Oxford. Three of the



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four Scottish universities admit women to all degrees except law, and Aberdeen makes not even this exception. The Royal University of Ireland grants equal privileges to both sexes.

In France, women are admitted to lectures on equal terms with men, tho a discretionary power of exclusion is left with professors.

In Germany, special permission from various authorities must be obtained by women desirous of joining specified classes, and considerable opposition has to be surmounted to secure anything like equal university privileges with men. To some extent, the academic prejudices are disappearing and several of the universities are now granting Ph.D. degrees to women. In 1898-99, three hundred and fifteen women, mostly foreigners, attended the German universities.

In Austria, since 1878, the universities

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have been open to women as hearers, and recently, in the case of foreigners, as matriculated students, forty women being registered at Vienna during 1899-1900.

In Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, Spain and the Netherlands, women are admitted to the universities in most cases on an equality with men.

In Russia, as might be expected, the higher education of women has had much to contend with, because of political troubles. At present, the universities are closed to women, but special provision is made for higher courses at St. Petersburg under governmental auspices.

Akin to the entrance of women into gainful pursuits and her acquisition of unrestricted opportunities for education is her assumption of complete "manhood suffrage" in some of the Western states, in New Zealand, in Finland and in Nor-

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way—with Sweden likely to follow; also the growing movement for her enfranchisement not only in the Eastern states of America, but thruout Europe as well. It was a great victory for universal suffrage when, in 1902, Federated Australia gave to women the same unrestricted right to the ballot possess by men, including eligibility to serve in both branches of the Legislature or Parliament as well as in the highest offices of the government. It is often urged by opponents of the woman suffrage movement that only a small minority of women desire the ballot. The result of the trial which has been made in Australasia is conclusive proof of the incorrectness of this contention. The following testimony is taken from the London *Chronicle* of recent date:

“New Zealand was the first British colony to adopt women’s suffrage—in 1893. The New Zealand woman was given

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universal adult suffrage. Tho she had not sought it, she immediately used it. Out of 140,000 women, 109,000 had placed themselves on the register in a few months, and 90,000 voted in the general election of November, 1893. They voted peacefully and in order during the day, while the men were at work, and left the booths to the men in the evening. They have voted with similar regularity and steadiness ever since. How do the women use their powers? Very calmly by all accounts. Generally, women make very much the same use of the franchise as do men. . . . There has been no disorder or unseemly behavior—no strange or sudden revolution in dress or in manners. Enfranchisement has led neither to divided skirts nor divided households. Families, as a matter of fact, generally vote on the same side. But on the other hand, there is a general agreement that family life has become brighter, that husbands and wives have more subjects in common to talk about, and that women are

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really setting themselves to study and watch public affairs. The effects, in fact, have been rather social than political. Women seem to be treated with more real respect—and not merely at election times. There has arisen between the sexes that sense of equality which is perhaps the only permanent and enduring social basis. Speaking generally, they have simply become citizens, whose part in public affairs is not sharply distinguished from that of men. New Zealand women have simply stepped into equality. And fourteen years of political life have shown them equal to that equality. Working side by side with man, woman still keeps her place—not like to like, but like in difference. The word pictures of which colonists used to have so many given them of domestic discord, children forgotten, husbands uncared for, dinners uncooked, dress and appearances neglected, have already almost passed from memory. It is the commonest sight to see husband, wife and grown-up children walking or driving cheerfully to

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the polls together. The head of the family has become a more important factor in politics than of old."

The recent extension of the suffrage to the women of Finland is a no less notable achievement. At the first election in Helsingfors in which women voted, 55 per cent. of the votes were cast by them, and the new Finnish diet contains nineteen women, very nearly 20 per cent. of the assembly. That in this first election more than half of the voters of Helsingfors were women goes far to show that women generally are likely to claim the ballot as soon as there has been any considerable agitation of the subject.

Norway has followed the example of Finland; its parliament granted the franchise to women June 14th, 1907. The effect of this agitation and triumph in Norway is likely soon to be followed by the extension of the suffrage to women in

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Sweden. Even Russia seems inclined to give to peasant women the right to vote for candidates for the Duma. Municipal suffrage has just been granted to the women of Natal, South Africa. There are vigorous National Woman Suffrage societies in Italy, Hungary and Russia. There is a remarkable increase in the agitation for full suffrage for women all over Europe. The International Council of Women, representing twenty countries and 6,000,000 women, is most impressive. Perhaps the most surprising and important sign of progress is the statement that in England out of six hundred and seventy members of the House of Commons, there are over four hundred who are pledged to vote for a bill giving full suffrage to women. It is quite true that if such an act were passed by the Commons it would still have to encounter the opposition of the Lords and the conspicuous conservatism which

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is an ingrained British trait; but when it is borne in mind that the English government is far more responsive to the will of the people than the American, it will not be surprizing if full suffrage is extended to the women of England before it is granted in the Eastern states of America.

However, the cause of woman suffrage is very hopeful in this country. Its demands have been endorsed by the American Federation of Labor, the National Grange, the Western Federation of Miners, the United Mine Workers of America, the International Typographical Union, the National Letter-carriers' Association and the Knights of Temperance. A mandate enforced by such a combination and helped on by the fair-minded amiability of American men will not long go unheeded after American women have shown that they desire enfranchisement.

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The meaning of this history of coeducation and of the enfranchisement of women is plain and its logic invincible. It is only one hundred and fifty years since Rousseau and Voltaire were fighting their battles for the rights of man and democracy. Of necessity their arguments were academic; democracy in the sense in which it is now understood had never been tried. But the American Revolution of 1776, the French Revolution of 1792, and the very general Revolution of 1848, which was especially active in Germany, the steady and triumphant march of democracy in the United States and its no less noteworthy advance in England and all her colonies for a century have removed the need—in America at all events—for further academic discussion as to whether democratic government is right or desirable. Only one hundred and fifty years have elapsed since this discus-

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sion and the widespread agitation began. Progress is much more rapid now than it was one hundred and fifty or even one hundred years ago. The academic discussion of and an active agitation for the rights of woman—her claim to the same right to an education and admission to all gainful pursuits and privileges that man possesses—began only a little over fifty years ago. In view of the data presented above and the fact that progress now has a much accelerated pace, is not the conclusion irresistible that long before the lapse of another century woman will not only enjoy the freest opportunities to acquire an education, but also to enter into all business pursuits on an equality with man, and all this quite as a matter of course?

It may seem an inconsistency to claim that woman is the victim of ages of restraint and at the same time show that she

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frequently excels the young men in colleges where both sexes attend under equal conditions. This is at least partially answered by the fact that the young women who go to college are usually the pick of their kind—the brightest and most ambitious—while a considerable portion of boys attend either because their parents desire it, or for the recreational and social enjoyments these institutions afford, there being but slight compulsion to take any real interest in the intellectual part of college life. It should also be noted, as may be seen by reference to the experiments recorded by Miss Helen Thompson, referred to in Chapter III, that tests go to show that women are quicker in learning and possess no less retentive memories than men. This faculty would enable women to outstrip men in cramming for an examination, even when they did not as thoroly understand the

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subject matter. Furthermore, just as children of savage races brought up under civilization have risen to intellectual eminence without entirely losing their inherited baser traits, so in the case of women students, school or college "tests" may be quite inadequate except as showing bright, receptive minds and traits of cleverness. The less brilliant but more solid characteristics of male students require generations of self-discipline, with favoring heredity and environment for their development.

Many of woman's shortcomings and limitations will require more than a century for their overcoming. Her environment has been too long restricted, her heredity too unfortunate and cumulative to warrant us in looking for an early, marked, revolutionary improvement. Are there any good grounds for discouragement in this? Assuredly not. Democracy is victorious and triumphant, and yet the

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most ardent champion of the laboring man can not fail to admit that he has many undesirable traits, which also are the result of a long-restricted environment and an unfortunate heredity; but no one, on that account, thinks of placing any restrictions upon his opportunities for development.

And a like free opportunity is all that is demanded for working women and for all women. In the last resort her success or failure must depend upon her own powers. This is equally true of the working man, and it is fortunate for both that it is so. The necessity for cultivating useful and admirable traits and the overcoming of undesirable ones in order to succeed is a universal law, and, like all laws applicable to human nature, applies to men and women equally.

CHAPTER XI

WOMEN IN BUSINESS AND THE PROFESSIONS

MRS. HETTY ROBINSON GREEN is a notable example of a woman possessing the characteristics and mental powers of a man, and who has achieved success in business fully equal to that of our most conspicuous men financiers. In 1865, when thirty years old, she inherited a large fortune—\$10,000,000, it is said, from her father, and \$2,000,000 from her aunt. It required business powers of a high order to so manage this vast heritage as to insure its safety and normal growth, but Mrs. Green has done far more than this. It is currently reported that her present fortune is over \$60,000,000, which shows an average annual income of more than \$1,000,000 a year for more than the forty years during which she has had the con-

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trol of this wealth. Mrs. Green, like the late Russell Sage, has made a specialty of loaning Wall Street large sums at high rates of interest on first-class securities; but she is also a skilful strategist, and many mysterious movements of prices on the stock exchange have been traced to her after it was too late to thwart her plans. She is said to have outwitted Collis P. Huntington in the reorganization of the Texas Pacific Railroad. Her habits of economy and her business methods are strikingly like those which characterized Russell Sage, and she is classed as fully his equal by men who have done business with both. Where women have succeeded in business, it is often found that they have profited by the schemes and advice of a skilful man of business; but there is no such suspicion regarding the success of Mrs. Green. She has fully demonstrated that her wealth and power are the re-

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sult of her own initiative and sagacity. There are but few among the well-known millionaires who have attained a greater financial position than that achieved by Mrs. Green.

It is true that Mrs. Green's career is quite exceptional, but the wonder is, when woman's unfavorable environment and heredity are considered, not that there should be so few such women of business, but that there should be any. Russell Sage acquired a colossal fortune and a reputation for financial sagacity not equaled by half a dozen of America's most famous millionaires. He was also almost alone among financiers in his field and method of operations. It is interesting to note that Mrs. Green has followed the exact methods in finance and economics that made Mr. Sage famous, and also that she is recognized as the successor of Mr. Sage in Wall Street.



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Financial ability is not monopolized by those who have amassed millions; good business powers may be shown as surely in the skilful management of thousands as in the manipulation of millions. In a recent summary¹ of the large number of men who have realized great fortunes in the iron and steel business of America, an interesting account is given of the success achieved by Mrs. Nannie H. Kelley, of Ironton, Ohio. Mrs. Kelley is the sole owner and manager of a charcoal furnace that produces about \$100,000 worth of iron per year. She bought the property and 10,000 acres of ore lands at about one-fifth of its value during the trade depression of 1893, and for eight years has received large dividends from this furnace. Mrs. Kelley is a woman of force and enterprise who is in business life from choice, not necessity. In Ironton, her judgment

¹ *Munsey's Magazine*, March, 1907.

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in financial matters is held in great respect. She is on the best of terms with her workmen and can boast of never having had a strike. Altho actively occupied in this self-chosen work, she has never allowed it to interfere with her duties as wife, mother and entertainer.

Mrs. Kelley's wealth bears no comparison with that of Mrs. Green, but it may easily be seen that the management of her enterprises exhibits as clearly as does the career of Mrs. Green the powers of initiative and invention—powers heretofore supposed to be exclusively male characteristics.

There are many instances where women have engaged in business, sometimes on a small scale, and have shown the originality and skill usually supposed to be peculiar to men.

Near the town of Saline, Michigan, at her father's death, a young woman inherited an exhausted farm of eighty acres.

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She became interested in scientific agriculture—the rotation of crops, the chemistry of soils and intensive farming. She concluded to make a specialty of growing peppermint and succeeded in building a mint distillery. She introduced original methods of mint farming, which have since been adopted by neighboring mint-growers. She set out her plants in the autumn instead of in the spring, as had been the custom. This enabled her to harvest her crop in the hottest weather of the summer instead of in September, and before the deterioration of the plant by the concentration of the mint essence in the root had taken place. She thus saved a larger proportion of the essence and had more time in which to harvest her crop, with the result of a marked financial success.

A young woman of Mentonne, Minnesota, strikingly exemplifies the value of

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the higher education to women. After graduating at the university she accepted a position as teacher in the public schools. Her knowledge of geology enabled her to see the value of a marsh situated outside of the town and in the direction in which the town was extending. She became convinced that the marsh was underlaid with a bed of gravel that would drain it if wells were dug thru the clay into the gravel. She paid \$1,000 for the marsh, drained it and sold her tract for \$35,000.

A most interesting illustration of a woman's business ability is presented by Miss Alice L. Yoder, a Pennsylvania girl. Having made a study of scientific agriculture, she accepted a position offered her by an evangelizing mission to teach native children in India the principles of successful farming. Local conditions have been thoroly mastered, and her 300-acre farm-school, under scientific irrigation

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and culture, is the only farm in the province able to withstand long droughts without serious loss. Several hundred native orphans live and work on the place under Miss Yoder's supervision, and it is claimed that the farm more than pays expenses.

An equally interesting illustration of a woman's business ability is afforded by Miss Marguerite Frink, a young woman only twenty-five years of age, who is already Assistant Professor of Mathematics in the State Agricultural College of Colorado. She began her work by attending the State Normal School, in Greeley, at the age of fifteen, and worked herself thru college by selling farm products on commission and by attending to the details of her small farm interest which came to her as a share of her work at home during vacations. While she is a teacher of mathematics, she is better known as one of the

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best cheese-makers in the West and as one of the best judges of farm and market products. She is perhaps the only woman who has taken carlots of cattle and hogs to market; and she has the reputation of getting the very best prices. Her father wished her to remain in charge of his canning factory; and the dairies, schoolmen and school boards wished her to teach for them. She was finally persuaded to accept a position in the Agricultural College because it gave a better opportunity of teaching the farmers the business end of farming. It is because of her success in these commercial undertakings that the Agricultural College is planning to use much of her time in institute work—traveling and lecturing with illustrations to the farmers.¹

It is the province of the lawyer not only to be versed in the laws of his state

¹ These particulars are taken from an article in *Woman*, May, 1907, by Joseph F. Daniels, Librarian State Agricultural College, Colorado.

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or nation but also to instruct and guide men in the management of their business. Success in the profession of the law presupposes the possession of those qualities recognized as masculine. It is interesting to learn that there were distinguished women lawyers in the middle ages. In 1100, Countess Matilda, of Tuscany, established a chair of jurisprudence in the University of Bologna. The prominent women of that day connected with legal affairs were Laura Bassi, Clotilde Lambsoni, and Novella Calderini, the latter being also renowned for her beauty. These women all received the doctorate of law. In Spain, from the eighth to the eleventh century, women were judges and jurists. They lectured in Cordova, Granada and Seville, and here at the age of twenty-one Cassandra Felice was a doctor of law. This woman must have been a dean or professor for it was she who conferred de-

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grees at Padua. She is said to have been one of the greatest women lawyers that ever lived, and her mental and physical strength made her one of the leading lawyers of Spain. She lived to be one hundred and one. She was often referred to as the phenix. According to Habbell, it was these women who gave Shakespeare the idea of his Portia in the "Merchant of Venice."¹

Former Ambassador Choate, in a recent address, stated that after investigation he found there were at present over one thousand women practising law in the United States. Thirty-seven years ago there was not a woman in the Union who had been admitted to the bar. Slowly and reluctantly the barriers of the profession have been lowered. To-day nearly every country has its women lawyers. Ten years ago Belgium denied Miss Papelin

¹ *Woman*, December, 1906.

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the right to practise, but since that time the decision has been reversed. Mlle. Jeanne Chauvan is one of the leading lawyers in France, as successful in criminal as in civil cases. In one of the Zurich colleges, Miss Kempin is an instructor of law. She has now a class of women, and outside of this work is active in her own private profession. In America thirty-four states admit women to the bar, Illinois leading the list with ninety in practise and New York second with forty-five. Missouri has twenty-five, the District of Columbia ten, Nebraska twenty-five, Oregon twelve, Wisconsin ten, Michigan eight, and Florida four. These women are variously engaged in all branches of the profession.

In another department of professional work, involving the possession of good business powers, may be mentioned the career of Miss Estelle Reel, Superintend-

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ent of Indian Schools and the highest salaried woman employee of the government, receiving \$3,000 per annum and expenses. From the fact that because of work she had previously done, she was sought out by the government and that she was in no way indebted to the influence of friends for this responsible appointment, it is evident that her capabilities are of no ordinary kind. Her present duties comprize the personal supervision of all the Indian reservations, which necessitates her being in the saddle a large part of the time for more than half the year; during the remainder of the time she is in her office at Washington in the Indian Bureau Building where a clerical force is managed by her with a precision and effectiveness equal to her school and reservation work.¹

While there are about a thousand wom-

¹ *Woman*, April, 1907.

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en lawyers, the United States Census of 1900 shows the number of women physicians and surgeons as 8,600. The rapidly increasing number of women doctors shows that they are meeting with success in this profession. It was Professor Lombroso who stated that among the considerable number of women doctors in America none is found who has done work in original research. This is a mistake. In 1876, Mary Putnam Jacobi took the Boylston prize of Harvard University for original work. In 1891, this distinguished physician contributed a paper to a book entitled *Woman's Work in America*, and in giving an account of the writings of American female physicians she mentions over forty productions from her own pen.

On account of the extreme conservatism of the established churches, women have encountered more difficulty in entering the ministry than any other profession,

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yet the census for 1900 gives the number of women ministers as 3,373. I know of no noteworthy records of women as ministers in the conservative churches, but in the Christian Science Church, Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy has achieved a remarkable financial success.¹ She adopted a system of healing the sick which had been first practised by Dr. Phineas P. Quimby, Portland, Maine. Doctor Quimby made but a modest living out of his practise. He was, however, so impressed with the beneficence of his system and its value to humanity that he tried to give it to the world without money and without price. Mrs. Eddy (then Mrs. Glover) advertised in the *Banner of Light*, July 4, 1868—a paper devoted to spiritualism—that she would teach this system of healing without pay until the student became able to demonstrate and heal by it. In eighteen

¹ *Christian Science*, by Mark Twain, and *McClure's Magazine*, 1907.

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years Mrs. Eddy had made most astonishing progress. In the *Christian Science Journal* for September, 1886, appears an advertisement of the "Massachusetts Metaphysical College" situated at 571 Columbus Avenue, Boston, and of which the name of Mary Baker G. Eddy is given as president. Her progress is so marked as compared with the terms given in her advertisement in the *Banner of Light* that I quote the announcement entire:

MASSACHUSETTS METAPHYSICAL COLLEGE

REV. MARY BAKER G. EDDY, PRESIDENT

521 Columbus Ave., Boston

The Collegiate course in Christian Science metaphysical healing includes twelve lessons. Tuition, three hundred dollars.

Course in metaphysical obstetrics includes six daily lectures, and is open only to students from this college. Tuition, one hundred dollars.

Class in theology, open (like the above) to graduates, receives six additional lectures on the Scriptures, and summary of the principles and practise of Christian Science, two hundred dollars.

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Normal class is open to those who have taken the first course at this college; six daily lectures complete the normal course. Tuition, two hundred dollars.

No invalids, and only persons of good moral character are accepted as students. All students are subject to examination and rejection; and they are liable to leave the class if found unfit to remain in it.

A limited number of clergymen received free of charge.

Largest discount to indigent students, one hundred dollars on the first course.

No deduction on the others.

Husband and wife entered together, three hundred dollars.

Tuition for all strictly in advance.

In the preface to the 1902 edition of *Science and Health*, Mrs. Eddy says that in seven years she had taught over 4,000 students. Excluding all account of what she may have received from students in the normal classes and in the "classes in theology," there is still left more than \$1,000,000 received for seven years devoted to teaching this new gospel—a business success no doubt unequaled by any other woman and unsurpassed by any

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man, when the nature of the business is considered. It is interesting to note that Mrs. Eddy manifested initiative in opening a new field for women, in which she has had many imitators. Numbers, adopting her methods, have opened classes in Boston, New York, London and other cities. While they have given their systems different titles—"Mind Cure," "Mental Healing," "Spiritual Healing" and "Metaphysical Healing"—they have followed Mrs. Eddy in giving courses of twelve lessons, also in the substance of what is taught and in charging similar prices.

In a chapter on women in business, however brief, some mention should be made of the women of France and the continent. If England may be called a nation of shopkeepers, France may be said to be a country of business women. It is so usual to see French women in business that it is

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regarded by themselves as a matter of course. A traveler in France is struck by the quiet dignity and efficiency of the women in their conduct of business; and no one sees in them any coarseness or mannishness or lack of feminine charm. And yet, from the management of the Bon Marché down to the ubiquitous news-kiosks and tobacco stores, women are predominant. In fact, women in Paris are even encroaching upon kinds of business heretofore monopolized by men. Altho it is only a few months since women cab-drivers undertook this work, they have been so successful that men cab-drivers, in order to attract patronage, have begun to adopt a similar style of hat and coat to that worn by these women. Both in America and abroad many women are driving their own motor-cars, and in England this practise is becoming fashionable among the upper classes. It is

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stated also that in England women are beginning to enter the arena as professional chauffeurs. Manifestly, women are taking to these vocations because they receive better pay than in more crowded pursuits; and the public patronize these women because they are more careful and better mannered than the average man driver.

CHAPTER XII

HERBERT SPENCER ON WOMAN'S DEVELOPMENT

THE name of Herbert Spencer is as firmly identified with the doctrine of evolution as an explanation of the facts and phenomena of life as that of Darwin. Co-discoverer with Wallace of the laws of natural selection, Darwin devoted his energies to the discovery and solution of the origin of species. Spencer, quite as original and from independent data, sought to explain by evolution the origin of life in the whole field of matter. Altho not the discoverer of the law of natural selection he at once recognized its truth, naming it the survival of the fittest and incorporating it as an indispensable portion of the framework of his philosophy.

In preceding chapters are numerous quotations from recognized authorities in



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the field of science confirmatory of my contention that the larger share of those differences between men and women which heretofore have been considered the result of fundamental maleness and femaleness respectively are but the result of environment and sexual heredity. It is now my purpose to give reasons for believing that if in the preceding hundreds of generations the conditions and environment of the two sexes had been reversed men would now very likely exhibit the traits usually termed feminine; while women probably would be the larger and more vigorous sex and show the same superiority over men in invention, initiative, mechanics, mathematics, logic and powers of ratiocination that men now exhibit over women. It is because of the high place Mr. Spencer holds as a scientific philosopher that I venture the extended quotations following; and also because of the

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especial pertinence of these extracts to the matters under discussion. The following is from *The Study of Sociology*, page 375 :

“The remaining qualitative distinctions between the minds of men and women are those which have grown out of their mutual relations as stronger and weaker. If we trace the genesis of human character, by considering the conditions of existence thru which the human race passed in early barbaric times and during civilization, we shall see that the weaker sex has naturally acquired certain mental traits by its dealings with the stronger. In the course of the struggles for existence among wild tribes those tribes survived in which the men were not only powerful and courageous, but aggressive, unscrupulous, intensely egoistic. Necessarily, then, the men of the conquering races which gave origin to the civilized races were men in whom the brutal characteristics were dominant; and necessarily the women of such races, having to deal with brutal men,

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prospered in proportion as they possess, or acquired, fit adjustments of nature.

“How were women, unable by strength to hold their own, otherwise enabled to hold their own? Several mental traits helped them to do this. We may set down, first, the ability to please and the concomitant love of approbation. Clearly, other things equal, among women living at the mercy of men, those who succeeded most in pleasing would be the most likely to survive and leave posterity. And (recognizing the predominant descent of qualities on the same side) this, acting on successive generations, tended to establish, as a feminine trait, a special solicitude to be approved, and an aptitude of manner to this end.

“Similarly, the wives of merciless savages must, other things equal, have prospered in proportion to their powers of disguising their feelings. Women who betrayed the state of antagonism produced in them by ill treatment, would be less likely to survive and leave offspring than

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those who concealed their antagonism; and hence, by inheritance and selection, a growth of this trait proportionate to the requirement. In some cases, again, the arts of persuasion enabled women to protect themselves and, by implication, their offspring where, in the absence of such arts, they would have disappeared early or would have reared fewer children.

“One further ability may be named as likely to be cultivated and established—the ability to distinguish quickly the passing feelings of those around. In barbarous times a woman who could, from a movement, tone of voice or expression of face, instantly detect in her savage husband the passion that was rising, would be likely to escape dangers run into by a woman less skilled in interpreting the natural language of feeling. Hence, from the perpetual exercise of this power, and the survival of those having most of it, we may infer its establishment as a feminine faculty. Ordinarily, this feminine faculty, showing

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itself in an aptitude for guessing the state of mind thru the external signs, ends simply in intuitions formed without assignable reasons; but when, as happens in rare cases, there is joined with it skill in psychological analysis, there results an extremely remarkable ability to interpret the mental states of others. Of this we have a living example never hitherto paralleled among women, and in but few, if any, cases exceeded among men.¹

“Of course, it is not asserted that the specialties of mind here described, as having been developed in women by the necessities of defense in their dealings with men, are peculiar to them; in men also they have been developed as aids to defense in their dealings with one another. But the difference is that whereas, in their dealings with one another, men depended on these aids only in some measure, women in their dealings with men depended upon them almost wholly—within the domestic circle as

¹ This is supposed to have reference to George Elliot.

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without it. Hence, in virtue of that partial limitation of heredity by sex, which many facts thruout nature show us, they have come to be more marked in women than in men. . . .

“Those unlikenesses of mind between men and women which, under the conditions, were to be expected, are the unlikenesses we actually find. That they are fixt in degree by no means follows: indeed, the contrary follows. Determined as we see some of them are by adaptation of primitive women’s natures to the natures of primitive men, it is inferable that as civilization readjusts men’s natures to higher social requirements, there goes on a corresponding readjustment between the natures of men and women, tending in sundry respects to diminish their differences. Especially may we anticipate that those mental peculiarities developed in women as aids to defense against men in barbarous times, will diminish. It is probable, too, that tho all kinds of power will continue to be at-

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tractive to them the attractiveness of physical strength, and the mental attributes that commonly go along with it, will decline; while the attributes which conduce to social influence will become more attractive. Further, it is to be anticipated that the higher culture of women, carried on within such limits as shall not unduly tax the physique (and here, by higher culture, I do not mean mere language-learning and an extension of the detestable cramming system at present in use) will in other ways reduce the contrast. Slowly leading to the result everywhere seen thruout the organic world, of a self-preserving power inversely proportionate to the race-preserving power, it will entail a less-early arrest of individual evolution, and a diminution of those mental differences between men and women which the early arrest produces. . . .

“As the validity of this group of inferences depends on the occurrence of that partial limitation of heredity of sex here assumed, it may be said that I should fur-

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nish proof of its occurrence. Were the place fit, this might be done. I might detail evidence that has been collected showing the much greater liability there is for a parent to bequeath malformations and diseases to children of the same sex than to those of the opposite sex. I might cite the multitudinous instance of sexual distinctions, as of plumage in birds and coloring in insects, and especially those marvelous ones of dimorphism and polymorphism among females of certain species of Lepidoptera, as necessarily implying (to those who accept the hypothesis of evolution) the predominant transmission of traits to descendants of the same sex. It will suffice, however, to instance, as more especially relevant, the cases of sexual distinctions within the human race itself, which have arisen in some varieties and not in others. That in some varieties the men are bearded and in others not, may be taken as strong evidence of this partial limitation of heredity; and perhaps still stronger evidence is yielded by

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that peculiarity of feminine form still found in some of the negro races, and especially the Hottentots, which does not distinguish to any such extent the women of other races from the men. There is also the fact, to which Agassiz draws attention, that among the South American Indians males and females differ less than they do among the negroes and the higher races; and this reminds us that among Europeans and Eastern nations the men and women differ, both bodily and mentally, not quite in the same ways and to the same degrees, but in somewhat different ways and degrees—a fact which would be inexplicable were there no partial limitation of heredity by sex.”¹

Thruout Mr. Spencer's writings when

¹ I wish to call attention to a phrase Mr. Spencer uses in the foregoing—namely, “heredity by sex,” or “the predominant descent of qualities on the same side.” I had written several chapters of this book before reading Mr. Spencer on the *Study of Sociology* from which the above extracts are taken. For some years I have been aware of this principle of heredity, but was not aware that any other had perceived its general bearing or had given it a name. Darwin chose the phrase “sexual selection” for one of the important factors on which his system is based, and I had an excellent precedent for naming this principle “sexual heredity.” Mr. Spencer's phrase “heredity by sex” has the same meaning.

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discussing the differences between men and women, he attributes them to differences in environment; nowhere does he suggest that differences between men and women may have arisen from a constitutional or fundamental distinction. In the chapter "Status of Woman," found in *Principles of Sociology*, Mr. Spencer points out that in no way is the moral progress of mankind so clearly shown as by contrasting the position of women among savages with that in civilized life. Among warlike peoples the position of women is uniformly low. The men are often absent in war, and so excessive burdens are placed upon the women, and the lower the women the less respect and consideration do they receive from the men. As war wanes and industrialism increases, men and women join in similar occupations and both are uplifted. Among peoples habitually warlike, polygamy becomes

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universal and women are correspondingly degraded. As industrialism advances and men and women engage in similar pursuits and are brought into closer social contact, monogamy becomes more and more the custom; and the more monogamy is enforced the higher the condition of women, which is true alike of civilized and barbarous peoples. The Pueblos may be cited as a simple community having a high industrial organization, among whom monogamy is firmly adhered to, and in consequence, the status of woman is remarkably high. Among this people there is "courtship and exercise of choice by girls and none is forced to marry against her will, however eligible her parents consider the match. Sometimes the usual order of courtship is reversed: when a girl is disposed to marry she does not wait for a young man to propose to her, but selects one to her own liking and consults her

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father who visits the parents of the youth and acquaints them with his daughter's wishes."

The above is full of suggestion. In our civilization, custom forbids a young woman, no matter how her affections may be engaged, to give a sign until the young man has signified his preference. Perhaps this condition is a survival from the time when a wife was obtained by capture or purchase. The double standard of morals—one for the man and another and very different one for the woman—was no doubt established by the men who owned their wives, and it has been carefully guarded and handed down to the present time. Another custom and relict from the same source and time is not so clearly understood—the necessity of labeling a woman Mrs. or Miss, and thus indicating whether she is or has been some man's property, or whether she is still in the

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market. When we have established equal standards for both sexes and abolished the last remnant of woman's subjection we shall no longer demand these labels.

The great lack of development in women is tersely and picturesquely exprest in the following quotation from Spencer's *Principles of Psychology*, Volume II, page 538. After defining intellectual evolution as a broadening of ideas, the acquiring of a power to classify and coördinate facts and to recognize general laws, Spencer says:

“How necessary is this consensus we may, indeed, see in the less cultivated in our own society, and especially in women of the inferior ranks. The united traits distinguishing them are: that they quickly form very positive beliefs which are difficult to change; that their thoughts are full of special, and mainly personal experiences, with but few general truths, and no truths of high generality; that any ab-

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stract conception exprest to them they can never detach from a concrete case; that they are inexact alike in processes and statements, and are even averse to precision; that they go on doing things in the ways they were taught, never imagining better methods, however obvious; that such a thing as the framing of an hypothesis, and reasoning upon it as an hypothesis, is incomprehensible to them; and thus it is impossible for them deliberately to suspend judgment and to balance evidence. Thus the intellectual traits which in the primitive man are the results not of limited experiences only but of correspondingly undeveloped faculties, may be traced among ourselves in those cases where the life, relatively meager in its experiences, has not cultivated these faculties up to the capacity of the type."

While it is obvious that the above applies especially to the ignorant classes, the friends of and workers for woman's uplift will achieve best results from their

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efforts if they open their minds to the fact that this characterization applies, with exceptions, more or less to all classes of women, even the better educated and the more intellectual; that, indeed, the inability to generalize is conspicuously a feminine characteristic.

CHAPTER XIII

MARRIAGE AND MATEHOOD

IN former chapters I have emphasized the wide gulf that still exists between the minds of men and women. Boys emerging from childhood are quick to discern this disparity. The mother, when adequately equipped, can not fail to be a most potent force in molding her son's mind and forming his character. During the first ten years of the boy's life, the mother's influence is apt to dominate. Thereafter, he becomes aware of his mother's limitations; his affection remains, but he now finds himself engrossed in activities and pursuing lines of thought to which women, until recent years, have been strangers; and so the mother's influence wanes. But the seed of a different relation between mother and children is now being sown.

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Not only are our higher schools and gainful pursuits open to women, but also the influences outside of schools are rapidly augmenting that stimulate women to intellectual activity. When thru such forces women evolve powers now termed masculine—of generalization, philosophical reasoning, logic, initiative and the like—they will not only be more attractive and companionable to their husbands, but will also be far more competent teachers to their children; their enlarged range of thought inspiring greater confidence from their sons and stimulating higher ideals in both sons and daughters. It is a common observation that great men are usually born of highly-endowed mothers. It follows that the greater the opportunities opened to women, the wider will be the mental range and activities of their children; and the larger the intellectual equipment of mothers, the finer and

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stronger the nature of their sons as well as daughters. It is thus seen that to increase woman's opportunities is as important to men as to women.

One other principle has an important bearing on marriage. In foregoing chapters allusion has been made to the "undersized and flat-chested women" and their lack of physical strength for the sustained efforts necessary to succeed in the higher realms of human endeavor. It remains to speak of the bearing which the widespread frailty of women has upon matehood. It is true, frailty is not an insurmountable obstacle to domestic happiness. Brown- ing lived a life of great joy and fulness altho in closest association with an invalid wife. This historic pair companioned each other to a very unusual degree in the higher realms of thought; in their case, obstacles of relatively minor importance were readily overcome, and the

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prolonged illness of the wife only evoked greater compassion and attention. Not many are so fortunately endowed; the need for close sympathy and companionship is as extended as civilization, and one of the stumbling-blocks to an indefinitely prolonged honeymoon, where the husband is not richly endowed with unselfishness, is an invalid wife. The course of life and environment herein recommended for women, while tending to develop qualities of mind now generally supposed to be fundamentally masculine, also develops size, strength and health, and so augments the bonds and strengthens the ties which bind together the units of the family and the state.

All things work together for good for those who keep in the pathway of truth. We hear much nowadays of the evils of race suicide because of a lessened birth-rate. When women have more fully mas-

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tered the gainful pursuits, and young women enjoy substantially as large incomes as young men, marriage will not be deferred until so late in life as is now more and more the custom. Under present conditions the young man is moved to wait until he has saved a sum sufficient to enable him to set up housekeeping and defray the expenses of the entire household, with a house-servant frequently included. When two of equal powers are engaged in the pursuit of means the competence will be gained in half the time. Earlier marriages produce more children. Moreover, children born of large, strong and healthy women, instead of from "undersized and flat-chested" invalids, have a much better assurance of life; and we shall thus get the better of race suicide in more ways than one. Numbers, however, are not everything. The quality of the child—its intellectual and physical well-

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being, its moral fiber and the assurance of a long life—are quite as important to the upbuilding of the race as the multiplication of units.

Some may fear that this proposed change in the general life of women will work harm in the family circle and weaken those influences which tend to safeguard the child. A change in the education of our children has already improved their development and outlook on life. They are getting much better training of a practical sort in our public schools than could possibly fall to their lot in their homes, even under the highest priced and best qualified private tutors. No doubt our grandparents had many misgivings about trusting their children to a miscellaneous day-school with strangers for teachers. But results have amply justified the innovation. We can not determine except by experiment whether a day-

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nursery, under competent supervision, is not as much better for our infants than home nursing, as our day-school is better than any ordinary method of home teaching. Many people are rightly solicitous about making new experiments, but experiments must be made if there is to be progress. The well-to-do American mother would likely be shocked if advised to send her infant from home to be nursed; yet the English well-to-do mother does something not essentially different. She employs a nurse who takes entire charge of the infant, and the mother often does not see it more than once or twice a day, and then only for a brief period; yet there is no apparent shock to sentiment. And what would be a still greater shock to the unaccustomed American mother is the English practise of sending the boy off to boarding-school at an early age, in which case the child visits his home but

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two or three times a year for limited periods; and whatever the disadvantages of this custom, there is no evidence of its waning. On the plan suggested, the strong, healthy and vigorous mother, skilled in some trade or profession by which she might earn as much as or even more than her husband, has time in the morning to give her child an ample caressing, to look into the adequacy of its care, and then leave for the day to engage in lucrative, congenial employment that to many would be far more attractive than the monotonous tedium of an unchanging environment where endless household cares, routine work and drudgery weary and dishearten. The enfranchized woman, like her husband, may return in the evening from a well-spent day glad to take up domestic duties for a while with which her sister of to-day is weary, and far more

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capable of giving essential service to both the children and the home than she could possibly be had she remained the livelong day disheartened by its tedium and solitude. She is far more likely, in these circumstances, to engage her husband with interesting or intellectual conversation and make herself attractive than her worn-out prototype of the present day who has been tied to her relatively monotonous life.

It is obvious that whatever tends to uplift marriage and promote matehood is directly in line with social progress; and any sociologic change which increases woman's opportunities for independence and unfoldment strengthens marriage and favors matehood.

The dawn of an ideal fraternity is yet far in the future; and even single concrete examples of perfect marriage are all too rare phenomena; nevertheless, perfect

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matehood is a condition not second in importance to any other requisite of an ideal life. The possibility of its existence depends and must always depend upon absolute monogamy, and upon the same rule of conduct for the man that is universally demanded for the woman. To be ideal it must be based on mutual love and unselfishness, and be free from worldly or commercial considerations. To show that this is instinctively felt to be true, it is only necessary to refer to the universal abhorrence of the social evil. To be free from all commercial taint it is necessary that one seeking an ideal marriage, whether the seeker be man or woman, must be in a position of financial independence, inherited or acquired. The selling of one's body for worldly considerations, even for life and in strict monogamy, should be regarded with aversion—whether more or less will depend upon the

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intelligence and enlightenment of the observer. Custom and precedent have much to do with our perceptions of right and wrong. Since our otherwise most advanced people give their daughters to husbands who are able, or who promise to provide a comfortable living, the custom of bartering them on this basis has become established; and while multitudes of mothers are seeking such bargains for their daughters, multitudes of daughters are cooperating in such pursuit, both without thinking—custom has so blinded them—of the similarity of their quest to that “social evil” so repugnant that we instinctively shrink from pronouncing its name. It is no doubt in their favor that these bargain-hunters are usually ignorant or unconscious of the nature of the trade they pursue, but unconsciousness of a sin does not free the transgressor from its penalties. This is made plain when-

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ever unconsciously we disobey the laws of health and hygiene. The transgressor is no less liable to contract tuberculosis from sleeping in and breathing the poisonous air of an unventilated chamber than if conscious of the folly of such habit; and so a matrimonial bargain-hunter, unconscious of the sin of letting worldly considerations determine the choice of a husband or a wife, is as certain to suffer from the immorality of the bargain as if conscious of its demoralizing nature.

This is but one of many potent reasons why women should be encouraged to enter gainful occupations. Without financial independence or adequate earning power, a woman often finds herself in the dilemma of either accepting a worldly marriage unsanctified by love, or facing penury with all the misery it entails.

The same argument applies with equal force to the question of education for

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women. It has been remarked that additional earning power is one of the strongest inducements that prevail with young men to acquire a collegiate education; and when we consider the momentous importance to women of financial independence and freedom of choice in marriage, it is evident that a collegiate or technical education may be of as much service to the one sex as to the other.

Whether the education is sought in a woman's or in a coeducational college is of less importance; at the same time, the segregation of the sexes tends to deterioration, whereas a mingling of the sexes in intellectual pursuits and in recreations has a mutually beneficial influence.

It is not strange that society has enlisted every precaution to safeguard marriage. It is the basis of the family, and the family is the unit of the state. If the units are ideal, the state likewise must be

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so,—and hence ideal marriages are indispensable factors of an ideal state.

The supreme test for determining the social value of any system for the development of women or the race is the effect it is likely to have on marriage and matehood. What is ideal marriage? In the last analysis its basis is the mutual attraction of sex. But, however adequate and perfect this may be, and however indispensable as a basis, it is still but a beginning. It is the spiritual sympathy and subtile charm which may evolve from a union that is the thing to be chiefly desired. Since the beginning of time this indefinable charm has been the theme and inspiration of poet, story-teller and artist. Its influence, however, is not limited to the realm of the imagination. The inexpressible charm that fills the lives of those fortunately mated—or those adapted for matehood and inspired by its up-

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lift—has been a moving incentive to philanthropy and a never-failing inspiration in other fields of human endeavor—to the statesman, the scientist, the inventor, the teacher, as well as to the poet and artist. Strong friendships are also impelling, and these may exist between individuals of the same or opposite sex. What is the secret of this charm? Obviously it has its roots in similarity of tastes and modes of thought. For example, let us take the interior of a drawing-room where the husband has accompanied the wife to a reception. The guests are divided into coteries—the men in groups here, the women disposed there—and while the former exchange views on business or politics, the latter are most likely discussing the popular novel, the program at the women's club, or the latest fashion. The individuals composing these groups come together because of a similarity of

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activities, opinions and predilections. The men are not interested in the novel to the degree that women are and the fashions or doings of women hardly interest them at all; and, *per contra*, women do not usually care for discussions about business or public men and measures. To be sure, occasionally one finds women quite as deeply interested in political, economic or sociologic questions as men; and such will invariably be grouped with the men, not so much because of sexual attraction but because they are interested in the subjects with which men naturally concern themselves. Men do not form groups to exclude women because they are women, but follow a natural law of intellectual selection. Other things being equal, men no doubt prefer the companionship of women because of the natural attraction of sex, and some day all such unnatural groupings will be things of the past.

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These contentions are too obvious to require proof. Two young people under the allurements of sex and, let us suppose, with mutual earnestness and good intentions, fall in love and are married. They have youth, spirit and abounding life and for a time they are happy. But cares and troubles come and these with monotony are the death of romance. The wife is absorbed in her domestic or maternal duties and finds her only respite in the latest novel or the neighborhood gossip. The husband comes home tired with cares of business and needs an atmosphere of cheerful entertainment. He is not interested in the novel, and not always in the gossip. Dinner over, he departs—to his club or wherever congenial company awaits him. Carlyle no doubt frequented Lady Ashburton's drawing-rooms not so much because he was seeking the society of grandees as that he was fatigued with

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hard work and weary of home dissensions and longed for the flow of wit and repartee which entertained him. It is, of course, quite as important for the happiness of the cultured and aspiring woman to be mated to her equal as it is for the cultured and aspiring man. This discrimination in selection is a prerequisite to mutual happiness. So far as this relates to men, a husband returning to his home after a day's strenuous toil, who finds a wife well informed on current topics, who can enter into his views upon matters of public concern and is able to contribute fresh views of her own, is not nearly so apt to seek his evening relaxation elsewhere. If the husband is further fortunate in social acquaintances with home circles where the wives are the intellectual equals of their husbands, there is an additional charm to his social life. Such husbands have no occasion to join

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men's clubs; they are happier at home and in their own social circles. If a club is still desired, it will naturally be composed of both men and women. This will insure increased refinement and greater enjoyment.

When material advantages are ignored and marriage is the result of unselfish love, together with similarity of tastes and development, domestic life will yield its greatest joy; and the charm of matehood will continue thru life.

“What marriage may be in the case of two persons of cultivated faculties, identical in opinions and purposes, between whom there exists the best kind of equality, similarity of powers and capacities with reciprocal superiority in them—so that each can enjoy the luxury of looking up to the other and can have alternately the pleasure of leading and of being led in the path of development—I will not attempt to describe. To those who can con-

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ceive it, there is no need; to those who can not, it would appear the dream of an enthusiast. But I maintain, with the profoundest conviction, that this, and this only, is the ideal of marriage; and that all opinions, customs and institutions which favor any other notion of it, or turn the conceptions and aspirations connected with it into any other direction, by whatever pretenses they may be colored, are relics of primitive barbarism. The moral regeneration of mankind will only really commence when the most fundamental of the social relations is placed under the rule of equal justice, and when human beings learn to cultivate their strongest sympathy with an equal in rights and in cultivation.”—JOHN STUART MILL in the *Subjection of Woman*.

It was after the manuscript of this book had been completed that my attention was called to “The Woman of Evolution and

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Pessimism," a chapter in *Footnotes of Evolution*,¹ by David Starr Jordan, Ph.D., President of Leland Stanford Junior University. After quoting liberally from Schopenhauer's *Essay on Woman* [Copious extracts may be seen in Chapter V], Doctor Jordan says:

"The 'lady-nuisance' which distresses the philosopher is only a phase of the 'lord-nuisance' which has temporarily stood in the way of the progress of European democracy. If the 'lady-nuisance' is ridiculous to-day, the 'lord-nuisance' will be equally absurd to-morrow. Pomp and fatuity know no sex. The dry rot of life without effort affects men and women alike. Schopenhauer's attitude thruout the discussion of woman is that of a *blasé* collector discussing his neighbor's bric-a-brac. He finds it out of taste and out of harmony—not worth half it cost. But it is none of his business, and he has no responsibility for it.

¹ D. Appleton & Co., New York.

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“Waiving all minor criticisms, we find in this harsh review many elements of truth. It is an expression of the results of an attempt to ‘see things as they really are.’ But to see things in such fashion is not to see the whole truth. The greatest truth lies in what shall be, in the flow of the underlying stream of tendencies. Why are things as they are? From what condition have they come, and what is the movement of the forces which govern future conditions?

“If the work and the life of woman seem less important than those of man, it is because we measure them from a man’s standpoint, not from that of humanity. From the standpoint of the race, the sexes can not be unequal. The one sex balances the other. The line in the long run must be drawn evenly and equally. If in any race of people the woman does not do her share of the life work, the process of natural selection sets this race aside in favor of some one more normally constituted. . . .

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“Let us for present purposes accept Schopenhauer’s analysis of the defects of woman’s character. May we not say that for each real defect there is an historic cause? To remove the wrong is to destroy its reaction. If women are given to small deceit, it is because men have been addicted to small tyranny. If women are short-sighted, it is because in the nature of things the near things have been woman’s province. If a woman has not a judicial mind, it is because the protection of the child makes her necessarily a partizan. If woman in her care of the species neglects the individual, it is because in the past she has been driven or sold into the custody of individuals not lovable for themselves. If she shows in one form or another the same weaknesses as man, it is because she is, in fact, very man, bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh. We are all poor creatures, and to quarrel with the defects of human nature is as futile as to hold ‘a feud with the equator.’ The desire of woman to seek mastery thru the con-

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quest of man is in part an outgrowth of the militarism of past generations, when security was possible only thru such means. It is a trait of the lower races of men, as of the monkey-families, that the male should be a tyrant. Whenever tyranny exists it is met by deceit. In the reign of physical force, those who are weak must win strength by the force of love or intrigue. This condition is not confined to woman. Those men who were favorites of princes used the same methods of conquest. Moreover, the power of a strong will over a weak one has always been a factor in history, even tho the strong will be in a weak body. The freedom of man has brought with it the freedom of woman. With woman as with man not all are ready to be free. The fool when free shows his folly. It is safer for him to follow his class, to govern his life by tried conventionality, rather than by imperfect reason. The emancipation of woman permits the growth of senseless fads and meaningless superstitions, dis-

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torted desires and hysterical impulses. But the emancipation of man has had just the same effect. In the long run all these things are outworn; the survival of the fittest is the survival of the wise.

“The offensive phases of ‘new womanhood’ are temporary and self-curative. They are of the nature of fads which encumber and disguise real progress. *The woman of the future will be the fit and equal partner of the future man.*¹ As the wise and the strong will prize the womanly virtues, so will she be modest, sympathetic and beautiful. Nevertheless, she need not lack a degree of sturdy strength, without which motherhood fails of its best fulfilment. *Yet in so far as the highest physical activity and its coördinate reasoning power are not to be demanded of women in general, so in the nature of things must the brain and muscle of woman retain qualities of immaturity.*² The accelerated development of these qualities in

¹ The italics are mine.

² The italics are mine.

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the male of a race, 'sore bestead by the environment,' must leave the female relatively undeveloped if judged by the standard of the man.

"But, judged by the standard of womanhood, man shows an equal number of crude instincts and embryonic traits. In the division of labor this is necessarily the case. If it were not, there would need be no division of sex, and womanhood and manhood would be identical.

"'. . . Could we make her as the man,
Sweet love were slain. His dearest bond is this,
Not like to like, but like in difference.'

"When woman has perfect freedom of choice in marriage, there will be more love in the world than now. Too many women now marry under duress. Money or title, or place or security, are not valid reasons for marriage. The chances are that a union on such a basis will never prove a marriage at all. Nor is it right that marriage should rest on mere propinquity. The choice of the nearest scarcely

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rises above the automatic loves of the lower animals.

“In the conditions arising from an expanding civilization, the art of being a woman becomes a difficult one. It is unsafe on the one hand not to take part in industrial or intellectual activities. On the other hand, to be absorbed in these matters may be to lose sight of the more important functions which must belong to woman in any condition of social development. ‘Wo to the land that works its women!’ says Laurence Grönland. But there is equal wo to the land in which women find nothing to do. On the human side idleness and inertia are just as destructive to women as to men. Brain and muscle must be used each in its way, and the penalties for disuse are stagnation, *ennui* and misery. It is not every woman, as matters are, who can find occupation in household cares and in the training of children. *To the extent that women are not so occupied their need of thought*

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*and action is not essentially different from that of men.*¹

“A woman, like a man, must find something to do if she is to avoid misery and decay. Her release from the industrial world is conditional on the fact that she has something better to do than to win food; something more vital to social development than to add to the physical resources of life. So long as society exists, the ‘eternal womanly’ will find its own sphere of full activity. In the long run that division of labor will prove best which justifies itself by enduring.”

How can the woman of the future become the fit and equal partner of the future man if she is doomed to a life by which her brain must retain qualities of immaturity? If exclusion from industrial and intellectual activities necessarily causes immaturity and deterioration of power; if the penalties for disuse

¹ The italics are mine.

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of brain and muscle are stagnation and misery; and if the woman of the future is to be man's equal partner, have we not a sure promise that any custom which interferes with woman's industrial and intellectual activities is destined to be done away with?

Doctor Jordan refers to women who are not occupied in the duties of maternity, and concedes that these women need the same intellectual and industrial activities as men. But have we any ground for concluding that women who are fulfilling the functions of maternity are thereby excluded from exercising full mental and physical activities in other directions? Even under the restricted conditions which have prevailed in civilization large numbers of women who have borne and successfully reared children have at the same time become eminent in intellectual and artistic pursuits. It is the teaching

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of science that the natural life of an animal is six times the period necessary for its growth, and by this computation the normal life of man is from one hundred to one hundred and twenty years. When the earth has become fully peopled and man has learned to live in obedience to physiological law, approximately all the children that one woman will need to produce are the two necessary to replace their parents. Thus, there would be eighty to one hundred years of adult life to each individual, and it is clear that two children, or even three, would be no appreciable handicap to the women who are moved to engage in intellectual and industrial pursuits.

If human matehood and companionship be the highest expression of life, and not the "dream of an enthusiast," there is no reason why the enlightened father should not take an active and effective interest in

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the uprearing of the children; and when he does this, there will be all the more time for the woman to companion the man in life's various activities.

To quote again the words of John Stuart Mill: "The moral regeneration of mankind will only really commence when the most fundamental of the social relations is placed under the rule of equal justice."

CHAPTER XIV

THE FUTURE OF WOMAN—ETERNAL JUSTICE

THE comparative separation of the sexes has been one cause of the slow progress of woman. The mingling of the sexes in family life, in the school and the church, in industrial and professional work and in efforts to promote the general welfare is mutually uplifting. The isolation of either sex, whether in the harem, the nunnery, the monastery, or the army and navy, inevitably exerts a deteriorating influence. The cessation of war, and the entrance of the soldier into industrial pursuits, altho a great gain, is only one step. For further progress it is necessary that women enter more generally the ranks of industrial workers. Thru this increased association the refining and elevating influences which each sex under favorable

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conditions exerts upon the other will be augmented. The status of woman is rapidly improving because of the financial independence now coming to her thru industrial and professional pursuits. While this is a great advance on past conditions, it must not be accepted as the final goal. The basic idea of this book is the fundamental and ultimate equality of the human ego, whether embodied in the one or the other sex; and the aim of these pages is to explain the nature of this equality and to promote its practical realization. When woman, thru environment and heredity, has developed in similar degree the powers of generalization, initiative, invention and logical deduction which characterize man, and when man has evolved those powers of intuition, spirituality, refinement, patience and unselfishness which distinguish woman, then will men and women truly companion each

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other and their mutually uplifting influence will be at its culmination.

In a former chapter devoted to an exposition of the teachings of Herbert Spencer on woman's development and the law of sexual heredity is found a complete explanation of why at the present time—and especially in civilized nations—women are smaller and weaker and have more restricted minds than men. It is difficult to see how any one who adopts the hypothesis of evolution as an explanation of cosmic phenomena can contravene Mr. Spencer's reasoning or deny his conclusions. Accepting these deductions as proven, there inevitably follow some most revolutionary conclusions. If women are undersized, flat-chested and physically weak and unhealthy, because of their restricted environment during thousands of generations, it follows that generations having a radically different environment

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will develop in radically different directions. Spencer says by implication, and Darwin directly affirms, that where the female is smaller and weaker than the male it is because of a difference in environment and heredity. A radically different environment for both sexes is inevitable as civilization advances. In savagery and barbarism war and strenuous endeavor in the open were the exclusive occupations of men; while women handicapped by maternity and a restrictive environment were reared under conditions far less arduous than men. War is waning, industrialism is waxing. Industries had their birth in the hands of women; the entrance of woman into industrial life is but a return to occupations that were predominantly hers. The application of steam and electricity to machinery is entirely favorable to woman. Brute strength is giving way to skill. The

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conditions of life are changing and every advance in civilization is an invitation to women to work side by side with men.

Since free exercise gave men their stature, and since restriction is the cause of women's inferiority in size, strength and health, it follows that so long as the present trend toward healthful exercise on the part of women continues, the present disparity between the sexes will diminish; and it is difficult to escape the conclusion that when woman has had an environment as favorable as that of man, for a sufficient number of generations, she will become his equal in physical development. Such a conclusion presents an interesting and attractive perspective. The frontispiece to this book is a reproduction of the sculptured group of Electra and Orestes, found in Herculaneum, and now in the Naples Museum. The approximate

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physical equality of the pair in no way detracts from the woman's charm or the man's manliness. It may be contended that this is only an imaginary conception of the sculptor. Those who urge this forget that in the flower of Greek civilization, and especially in Sparta, women were given much the same exercises in the gymnasium as men; and it has been conjectured that it was Grecian every-day life that gave to Plato the conception, embodied in his *Republic*, to which previous reference has been made, that women ought to have the same education as men. Professor Donaldson in his work *Woman: Her Position and Influence in Ancient Greece* says that a vase of the fifth century before Christ, found in Girgenti, gives us representations of Alcæus and Sappho, and on these Sappho is taller than Alcæus and exceedingly beautiful. In the celebrated group of Orpheus, Eurydice

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and Hermes, the female figure is fully as ample and well-developed as the males. Similar conceptions of the feminine physique in Grecian sculpture may be noted in such classic groups as the Atlas Metope from Olympia, the Phigalian Temple frieze and several other famous monuments of that singularly art-gifted race. In our own days, the popularity of Du Maurier's, of Gibson's and of Christy's types indicates a vague but favorable response in the public mind to the demand for a physically well-developed woman suggestive rather of an ideal Diana or Minerva, of a Juno or a Venus, than the frail products of our hot-house civilization.

The law which governs woman's physical evolution applies with equal force to her artistic and intellectual development. Darwin tells us that for women to reach the same standard as man (and this ap-

plies both to the physical and intellectual parts) she must be trained to energy and perseverance at the same time that her reason and imagination are exercised to their fullest scope. It would seem that this distinguished man of science had a prevision of woman's entrance not only into the gainful pursuits but into the artistic, scientific and intellectual professions as well. If Darwin had taken an especial interest in woman's social enfranchisement and physical and mental development, and had desired to set the seal of his approval on woman's entrance into public life he could hardly have chosen apter words than those quoted on the title-page; for it is precisely the multifarious activities, physical and intellectual, in which women are now engaging at a continuously augmenting ratio, that are covered by Darwin's utterances. And truth is truth whether arrived at thru the

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slow and patient steps of the experimenting scientist or flashed into the mind of the poet and seer.

Among the excerpts from the poets following the title-page is a quotation from Wordsworth which affirms that the future woman will have the same health as man—that this vigor will be the result of an outdoor life, as typified in the shepherd boy—that her spirit is happy and joyous at all times and seasons—and that these traits, joined to an abundant maternity, reveal her divinity; and Tennyson tells us that she is divinely tall as well as fair. It is suggestive that this verse from Wordsworth is taken from a poem address “To a young lady who had been reproached for taking long walks in the country,” our grandmothers evidently believing that outdoor exercise for women was unsuitable and unladylike.

In less than a century after Words-

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worth wrote, and less than half a century since Darwin's epoch-making book, we are privileged to see their prophecies partially fulfilled, and neither has woman been unsexed nor have her charms depreciated. On the contrary, her attractions are increased. In scanning the portraits of celebrated women included in this volume the reader will observe that a goodly portion are distinguished by womanly beauty; and their biographies reveal that a similar proportion excelled both as mothers and members of society—their feminine traits strengthened and enhanced by their developed mental powers.

Students of the woman problem are liable to be misled. The two sexes have both made definite contributions to the race. At first glance it would seem that the contribution made by man is of far greater importance. With most people, material

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splendors greatly outweigh spiritual qualities. To superficial minds the distinction between savagery and civilization is signified by the absence or presence of colossal ships, railroads, skyscrapers, mechanical inventions, science and the arts. These more or less material achievements loom large and they are man's contributions. At first sight, they appear to eclipse woman's contributions of intuition, patience, self-sacrifice, regard for the well-being of others, gentleness, love; in short, the graces of civilization. This view, however, is quite erroneous. The truth is that the contributions of man and woman are of equal value because equally indispensable. Civilization may well exult in material splendors, but no less does it stand in need of gentleness and love. A civilized man is distinguished from a savage quite as

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much by his gentler virtues as by his material achievements; and for the former he is indebted to the evolutionary contributions of women. Furthermore, it is not by any means clear that the man has had an advantage over the woman in the communal life which resulted in these diverse contributions. Is any enlightened person willing to say that he would rather be a slave-driver than a slave? And who would venture to assign a higher value to men because by their "unrestricted movements" they were able to evolve mathematical, mechanical and logical powers and those inventions upon which our material triumphs are based, yet held the weaker sex in abject subjection,—than to women who thru this very subjection have evolved the graces that so distinguish them? The scales of eternal justice hang even.

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There is satisfaction in the thought that the two sexes have been equal factors in the evolution of our present civilization and still more in the anticipation of a time when they will evolve into entire equality. As each sex in the past has played its necessary part in the drama of life, and is destined to share equally in the acquisitions and triumphs of coming ages, sex equality is seen to be an all-pervading law in savagery, in civilization and also in a fully evolved humanity. It is no mere "vision of the future"—no mere hypothesis spun by a fanciful theorist; it is a living force inherent in humanity ages before history—an influence not to be mistaken by the enlightened mind; it is a sublime truth fulfilling an eternal purpose which shall transform a world of discord into a paradise.

This conception, seen thru an adequate

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perspective, enables us better to understand the justice and grandeur of the eternal scheme of things. The more man learns, the less need he feels to criticize and advise the government of the universe.

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